

M. White
Nov 2
1785
11

A
JOURNAL OF THE LIFE
OF
THAT ANCIENT SERVANT OF CHRIST,
JOHN GRATTON:
GIVING

An ACCOUNT of his EXERCISES when Young,
and how he came to the
KNOWLEDGE OF THE TRUTH,

And was thereby raised up
To PREACH THE GOSPEL;

As also of his
LABOURS, TRAVELS, and SUFFERINGS
for the same.

“ Many shall run to and fro, and Knowledge shall be increased;
“ and they that be wise shall shine as the Brightness of the
“ Firmament; and they that turn many to Righteousness, as
“ the Stars for ever and ever.” DAN. xii. 3, 4.

L O N D O N :

Printed and Sold by JAMES PHILLIPS, GEORGE-
YARD, LOMBARD-STREET.

MDCCLXXIX.

JOURNAL OF THE LIFE

OF JOHN CRATTON:

AN ACCOUNT OF HIS EXPERIENCES WITH YOUNG
AND HOW HE CAME TO THE
KNOWLEDGE OF THE TRUTH.

By FRANK THE GOSPEL.

LABOURS, TRAVELS, AND SUFFERINGS

IN THE SERVICE OF THE GOSPEL.

LONDON:

Printed and Sold by J. W. PHELPS, General
Agent, Leonard Street.



SEVERAL
TESTIMONIES, &c.

A few Words by way of Testimony
concerning our dear Friend JOHN
GRATTON; with some Account
of his following Journal.

LOVE to the precious Truth,
which I received in my early
days, and embraced as my chiefest
joy, and which is dearer to me than
all this world can afford, hath made
me love the messengers and ministers
of it; of whom our dear friend John
Gratton was not the least, being one
of the Lord's worthies, raised up in
these latter days, after long travail,
and sent forth to publish the glad
tidings of the gospel of Christ to his
a neigh-

neighbours and countrymen, &c. as by the following relation will appear. A true preacher of the everlasting gospel of life and salvation to the sons and daughters of men, in life and power, which is glad tidings indeed to as many as receive it: but he is now removed and taken from us, and is gone to his everlasting rest, and his works follow him.

The removing of many of the Lord's worthies from among us of late years, is matter of weighty consideration, with which my heart hath often been deeply affected; but in this I am comforted, that we are not left destitute, and that the work is the Lord's: and though they are taken away, he can raise up others in their room; and that they died in the Lord, and if we are faithful we shall go to them (seeing they cannot return to us) where we shall for ever live to laud and praise the name of the Lord: and in the mean time let us pray the Lord of the harvest, that he will send forth more such faithful labourers into his vineyard, to supply the places of those who are removed;
for

for the harvest indeed is great (and much work yet to be done, before the nations are converted unto him) and the true labourers (in comparison of the greatness of the work) are yet but few.

I should not have presumed to have written any thing concerning this our Friend deceased (considering how many abler there are to speak of him), had not I had a more than common respect to him for his testimony's sake, and intimate acquaintance with him for about twenty years, and knew his temper and spirit well; and were it not to give some account of the ensuing Journal, and my concern in it; which is as follows:

Our Friend John Gratton, whose service in the Truth, and labours in the work of the Lord, are, I doubt not, fresh in the memories of many, who will be glad to hear the relation of him, left an account, in several papers, of his life, labours, travels, and sufferings, which, being sent up to London since his decease, were put into my hands, with desire that

I would peruse them ; which I carefully did, and brought the substance of all into one, according to the order of time, as near as I could in his own words, not omitting any thing that was material.

May the Lord make it serviceable to all that read it, that it may redound to his glory, the advancement of his truth, and comfort of his people.

He died in the first month, 17 $\frac{1}{2}$.

“ Precious in the sight of the Lord, is the death of his saints.”

To whose divine grace and guidance I recommend all, with my own soul.

London, 20th of the
12th month, 1719.

JOHN WHITING.

JOSEPH

JOSEPH SMITH'S Testimony concerning JOHN GRATTON.

I HAVE known my dear Friend, John Gratton, thirty years (or upwards) and he being one whom I dearly loved, as a minister of the gospel of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, it is upon my mind to write a short testimony concerning him. He travelled much in the work of the ministry, and was willing to spend and be spent for the Truth's sake. His testimony was very powerful, and prevailed to the tendering the hearts of many; and I may say (for one) he was very helpful to me in my young years, wherefore I had always an honourable esteem for him as an elder, and a father in Israel. But within this fifteen or sixteen years I have had a more full knowledge of him; for I sometimes travelled with him, and had private opportunities in his company: and although he was endued with an
 excellent

excellent gift of the ministry, yet he was very tender and courteous to those who were but young in the work of the gospel (whose care was to serve the Lord, and not themselves); and indeed he had a word of comfort to the weary travellers, whose faces were Sion-ward; yet he was very sharp against deceit. He dearly loved the Truth, and the prosperity of it. May I not say, The righteous is taken away, and few consider it? My desire and prayer to the Lord is, that as he hath been pleased to remove many of the ancients, he might raise up many more such faithful labourers, and give them a portion of the same spirit, that the Truth might spread over the nation, and nations remote; that many might be turned from the evil of their ways unto the fear of the Lord, and so lay down their heads in peace, as I believe this our dear Friend hath done. And though he is taken from us, to our great loss, yet I doubt not but it is to his eternal gain; for I being with him a little before he was taken away, found him sensible, and retaining

retaining his integrity, which was much to my comfort and satisfaction; and now I may say, " he being dead, yet speaketh : " and his memory is fresh in my remembrance, I being sensible that he died in the love of Truth, and in true love and unity with faithful brethren.

North-Collingham in Nottinghamshire, 22d of the 3d month, 1713.

JOSEPH SMITH.

A Testi-

A Testimony remains in my Heart
concerning our dear Friend JOHN
GRATTON.

HE was one whom I dearly loved, because of that spirit that dwelt in him in a plentiful manner. Indeed the Lord wonderfully favoured him with his grace and spirit, so that I have sat with great delight under his ministry in many places. I was at London the last time he was there, and he was very living and powerful in his testimony, and many things dropped from him in his declarations, which were very suitable to the congregations; so that I admired the wisdom that the Lord had indued him withal, and the strength that his natural body had; for out of a meeting he was very weak, because of his distemper that was upon him. He preached the gospel of life and salvation freely, and suffered for the testimony the Lord gave him to bear, and many were turned
to

to the Lord through his ministry, who became obedient and faithful to the manifestation of God's spirit in their own hearts; several of whom I was intimate withal; so that it is a true relation I give of him.

I desire the Lord may raise up many such true labourers as he was in his day, to labour in his vineyard, that many may be turned to righteousness, and grow up in holiness, to the praise and glory of God, who hath appeared by his light and grace in a wonderful manner in our day. Surely the Lord is about to make his name and truth famous amongst the inhabitants of the earth for this cause; and for the love that he bears to the workmanship of his hands, is he working in the hearts of many by his spirit, and is raising up true hearted men and women, that run not after filthy lucre, but are seeking to gain souls to the Lord, and turn men and women from their sins and transgressions, that they may be heirs of eternal salvation; for this end did our dear friend and brother labour. I have met with him in

b

divers

divers counties in this nation, where he laboured faithfully and truly in the work of the Lord. He endeavoured, as much as in him lay, to stir up the pure mind; and I have seen his labours of love effectual, so that many hearts and souls have been sweetly refreshed through that love that flowed, and dwelt plentifully in him: and after a meeting he was solid and serious, and his discourse tended much to edification, and to build up the children of the Lord in the most holy faith. He was one that sought not to be applauded by men, but kept humble and low in the fear of God, and had an eye to his glory: these qualifications that his Lord and Master had endued him withal, and his exemplary life, did much beautify him in the eyes of those that loved and feared Almighty God. Well, this may be safely said, that he was a man of God, and did good service in his day, and is entered into that rest that is prepared for all those that love the Lord Jesus Christ.

Bridlington, 3d of the
8th month, 1712.

JOSIAH LANGDALE.

A few Lines by way of Testimony,
from several Friends in Cheshire,
concerning our ancient Friend,
JOHN GRATTON, deceased.

WE, whose names are hereunto
subscribed, having had a pretty
early and long acquaintance with that
good man, thought it our duty, in
respect to his memory, to give forth
this testimony concerning him. In
his early and several visits he made to
this county in the service of Truth,
we still observed the Lord attended
him, and put him forth, so that many
times he was wonderfully opened and
enlarged to speak of the things of
God, and to unfold the mysteries of
his kingdom in a very convincing
manner to the ignorant, and to the
comforting and strengthening of the
faithful: yea, times of refreshment
did often sweetly attend the meetings
of Friends he paid his visits to, which
made him to us acceptable and de-
sirable; and as he was lively and pow-

erful in his testimony, so many times he was sweetly drawn forth in praise and supplication to the Lord. He spared not himself wherein he could be serviceable to God, his Truth, and people, and had still an eye to the glory of God therein, and was zealously concerned to exalt the kingdom of his dear Son Christ Jesus our Lord, which he did, not only in doctrine, but in conversation, for he was a good example, both at home and abroad; and his service both here and in other places cannot easily be forgotten by us. His travels were considerable in this nation, and many were convinced by him in this county, and in other parts, and brought to the knowledge of the Truth. He also gave a visit to Friends in Ireland, where he was gladly received; he often spoke of his satisfaction he had therein, as also in his travels through Scotland. Whilst he lived in Monyash, in the county of Derby, his house and heart were open, his entertainments free: the company of honest Friends was very acceptable, and many made respectful visits to him,

him, which he would say were times of comfort and consolation. As years came on, so infirmities increased, which weakened and brought him often very low. His imprisonments and loss of goods, for his testimony for Truth, he bore with a great deal of patience, and waded through those sufferings with a Christian courage. Sometime after his removal to the county of Nottingham, his dear wife was taken from him, which added still to his sorrows; for she was a strength and comfort to him in the midst of his exercises, and continued so to be to her end: after her death he had the help and assistance of an affectionate daughter, who discharged her duty to him to his very last.

We shall only add, he was a man beloved of God and of his people, sound in his testimony, courteous in his behaviour; he loved the Truth for the Truth's sake; was patient in his suffering for it, faithful to God in discharging his duty to him, helpful to his people wherein he could be serviceable to them, either in their
private

private or publick concerns. He lived well, and so he died : and after all his toils, exercises, and buffetings, he met with here in this world, in a good old age was gathered home unto a quiet habitation.

The Lord God Almighty raise up and send forth many more such faithful labourers into his harvest, that the scattered may be gathered, and the dispersed brought home to the fold of safety, where they may be prepared with the Redeemed of the Lord, to give unto him, and unto the Lamb that sits upon the throne, the glory, honour, and high praises that is his due, and our duty to render him, even world without end. Amen.

Joseph Endon

John Walker

Rolfe Brock

John Hough

William Harrison

John Hobson

Benjamin Bangs

Martha Hobson

Mary Richardson

Martha Royle

Tabitha Ardern

Mary Bangs

Martha Moss

Stockport, 2d of the
1st month, 17th 1743.

The

The Testimony of several Friends,
 belonging to Monyash Monthly
 Meeting, concerning our deceased
 Friend JOHN GRATTON.

WE, whose names are hereunto
 subscribed, being members of
 Monyash monthly meeting, where-
 unto our well-beloved Friend, John
 Gratton, did many years belong (in
 which time we were intimately ac-
 quainted with him, enjoyed many
 precious and comfortable opportu-
 nities in conversing together, and
 were often refreshed under his mi-
 nistry) do find ourselves concerned
 as a duty we owe to his memory,
 and for the recommending his Chri-
 stian labours to succeeding ages, to
 write this brief testimony concern-
 ing him. He was a man of note in
 his country, and one whose Christi-
 anity did shew itself in the spirit of
 meekness and humility, notwith-
 standing many troubles and exercises
 which

which he met withal. He was also an able minister of the everlasting gospel, being made instrumental in the convincement of many. He had great openings, was sound in doctrine, and skilful in hitting the mark. His ministry was lively and powerful, plentifully opening the Scriptures. He travelled much in the service of Truth, both in this nation, and other countries adjacent. His residence was at Monyash (in the county of Derby) above forty years, where we were often comforted in his company, and therefore loved him in the Truth, and do believe that he lived and died a servant of the Lord. He departed this life at Transfield in Nottinghamshire, in the 69th year of his age.

Elihu Hall	Rebecca Bowman
Henry Bowman	Ann Bowman
Cornel. Bowman	Sarah Potter
George Potter	Esther Bowman

P H E B E B A T E M A N ' s Testimony
concerning her dear Father and
Mother.

IT hath been much in my mind to
give a short account of the latter
end of my dear and tender parents,
it pleasing the Lord so to order it,
that they both finished their days
with me at Transfield in Nottingham-
shire. They broke up house-keeping
at Monyash, the 4th month 1707,
and went from thence to brother
Joseph's, and, after a short stay there,
came hither : my dear mother having
been weakly about half a year before,
but then was something better, and
went a journey with dear father ; our
friend James Smith taking her be-
hind him, being free to accompany
them, and be serviceable to them,
which they both took very kindly of
him. And a very comfortable journey
they had, going into several counties
to see and visit friends, dear mother
c taking

taking her last farewell of them, being well satisfied her time here hastened on apace ; her weakness still continuing, though not so violent in that journey as before. At her return home to our house, she told me she might never go again, but was well satisfied with her journey, being glad to see Friends. She had a tender care for us all, being a very affectionate, loving, tender mother ; and in our bringing up had an eye to the Lord, that we might be trained up in his fear, and was not backward in reproving of us for any appearance of evil, dear father being five years and about a half in prison, when we were but young, the tuition of us fell mostly upon her : and as we grew up, she would often advise us to diligence and carefulness, not only to the Lord, but in those outward affairs of the world, that none might be losers by us. Her weakness of body increased fast on her, so that she much desired her time here might not be long, if the Lord saw it good, yet was freely given up to his holy will, and would say to me, ‘ Prithee do

do not desire my life, but give me up freely. I know I might have been assisting to thee, if the Lord had been pleased so to have ordered it; but my desires are more to be gone, if he see it good, than to live any longer here: having a tender regard in her mind for dear father, that he might not be neglected. I being pretty much taken up in attending her, she would often say, Dost thou take care of thy father? For as their love and sympathy had been great in all times of trial, of what sort soever, so it continued to the last; and I believe she never hindered nor discouraged him once for going out in the service of the blessed Truth, but was an encourager of him, and in his absence very diligent and careful, that nothing might go amiss to make him uneasy at his return; so that he was much at liberty to serve the Lord for many years before he gave up house-keeping. She was preserved in much patience and resignation to the will of the Lord, often saying, she had hope in him; she was very sensible to the last, departed this life

in much quietness and stillness, as if she had been going to sleep, without either sigh or groan, the 4th of the 10th month 1707; and I believe is entered into the rest which is prepared for the righteous, in the 65th year of her age, they having lived together near thirty-nine years. She was buried the 7th of the 10th month in the burying-place of Friends, by the meeting-house in Farnsfield, many Friends accompanying her body to the grave.

My dear father was then very weakly, and the loss of my dear mother was a near trial and exercise to him, she having been, as he himself said, a sweet help to him in the Lord, was deeply bowed in mind and spirit for the loss of her, yet he freely gave her up to the Lord. He was now brought so low and weak, that few who saw him thought he would continue long after her. But it pleased the Lord, in his great love and infinite goodness, to raise him up in some measure, though he continued weak all along, so that he was enabled to go up to London the summer

summer following to see and visit Friends. He was out near half a year, in which time he had several fits of illness, but the forest time was at Bungers-Hill, at the house of R. Richardson, he and his wife being very tender of him, yet his desire was great to get home to my house, if the Lord saw it good; and he was pleased to raise him up again, so that he was enabled to get home the 29th of the 7th month 1708; our Friend Richard Needham being so kind to come with him, and staid one night, and we were truly glad of him, but he continued weakly, being attended with various exercises, which often brought him very low, though sometimes he was enabled to take a little journey to see and visit Friends.

The last winter he sensibly decayed, so that he would often say to me, he could not continue long; his stomach being so weak, he could take little food for several months before he died. His desires were great to go hence, if the Lord saw it good; and as his weakness increased, his desires (if could be) grew stronger and

and more earnest with the Lord to remove him out of this troublesome world, being well satisfied his day's work was over, yet desired to wait the Lord's time. My eldest daughter being then very ill, he often gave good advice and counsel to her to fear the Lord, and be obedient to her parents, with more to that effect to all my children.

About a month before his decease, I was called on so suddenly, that it was thought he could not live till I came to him; I found my children and the maid weeping, thinking he would not have spoke again; but when I came to him, he broke out into tears, saying, he thought he should never have seen me more; but soon got a little strength to sit up in his chair, and called all the children to him, one by one, and kissed them, giving them good advice, saying, it was a great comfort to him to see we should part in so much love and unity one with another; and calling for the maid, spoke very tenderly and loving to her, and after talked pretty freely with my husband and me upon
several

several accounts, saying to me, when by ourselves, he saw my husband was true-hearted. Being attended with sore sickness and pain, he said, ' Lord, I pray thee, give me ease, if it be thy holy will, and remove me soon out of this body ; thou knowest it is through thy great mercy that we have hope in thee : Lord, I pray thee, be with my children that I leave behind, and with all friends and neighbours of what profession soever : it is through Christ Jesus our advocate, who is gone before us, that we are enabled to come to thee.' And being in much pain and exercise of body, he said again, ' Lord, if it be thy holy will, remove me out of this troublesome body.' Another time, some Friends being come to visit him, I told him, here were such Friends come to see him ; he said, they might see he was a weak man. And looking on them as they sat by him, he said, ' The Lord bless his people, and prosper his Truth amongst them, and enable them to live in love one with another ;' and not long after, weakening

ening very fast, he said, ' Lord, I freely commit my soul and spirit unto thee ; ' desiring to have his dear love to Friends, naming several particulars ; and a little before he died, he told me, now he thought he should be gone in half an hour, being very sensible to the last. He departed this life on the 9th of the 1st month, 17¹¹/₁₂, and is, I hope, at rest with the Lord, " where the wicked cease from troubling, and where the weary are at rest." He was buried beside my dear mother the 11th of the same, in the 69th year of his age, having been convinced of the Truth about forty years.

Farnsfield, in the
year 1712.

PHEBE BATEMAN.

A JOUR-

I
rit
ear
ar-
ed,
he
ur,
He
the
at
ck-
ere
ried
of
his
the

A
JOURNAL
OF THE
LIFE
OF
JOHN GRATTON.

A short Account or Declaration of the Lord's gracious Dealings with me in my Passage through this World, and great Mercies he hath bestowed upon me, who am not worthy of the least of his Mercies: But his Love is universal to all, Poor and Rich, Male and Female, without Respect of Persons.

AN.
"For God is no Respector of Persons: But in every Nation, he that feareth him, and worketh Righteousness, is accepted with him," Acts x. 34, 35, &c.

JR-
IT hath often been in my heart, and Born
lain long on my mind, to write a ^{about}
short account, to leave behind me ^{1641, or}
of the Lord's gracious dealings with me, ^{1642.}
and great mercies, which he, in his in-
finite love, hath freely bestowed upon
A me,

me, in the time which he hath been pleased to afford me in this world, far beyond my deserts or expectation, to my great joy and consolation, praises, thanks, glory, honour and renown be given and ascribed unto him ; for he alone is worthy, " God over all, blessed for ever, Amen : " to the end that my children, and others, who may see these lines, may be encouraged to trust in the living God, and to cast their care upon him, and obey him truly ; for he never fails them that put their trust in him, and abide in his blessed counsel.

When it first pleased the Lord to visit me, and to cause his light to shine in me (which is now my life) I was but a child, and was keeping my father's sheep, and was addicted to sin and vanity : for which I was reprov'd and smitten inwardly ; and it was made manifest to me, that I was not in a state of salvation, nor had I any true peace in my mind ; but whenever I came seriously to consider my state and condition, I found an accuser near me. Yet also I found, that he that reprov'd me for sin, and shewed me the deceit of my heart, the same also counselled me to embrace truth and righteousness, and was always with me to instruct me, and guide me in the way of holiness, and advised me to sin no more in word or deed, but always speak truth.

And

And when I took its counsel, and followed its advice, then was I easy, and my burthen seemed to lighten; and it would have given me encouragement to have held on, and take heed to that good thing in me, which thus instructed me to godliness, and to shun that which was bad and evil. And so I found, as it were, two spirits working in me, both striving to gain me, the one from the other; but I found the good spirit (for so it was) always counselled me to good things; and when I was obedient to it, then I found the evil spirit could not break my peace: and had I stood here, and always lived in the counsel of this good spirit of instruction, and had never rebelled against it, then had my peace been as a river.

I was about ten or eleven years old, when the Lord visited me with the light of his Son, and gave me to see my vain life and way I lived in; being much given to play amongst vain boys, and took great delight in playing at cards, and in shooting at butts, and in ringing of bells; for which I was reprov'd, and I came to see that vain sports and pleasures were displeasing to the Lord, which I was inclined to, before I came truly to know the word of God in my heart and mouth, to hear it and do it, and was judg'd in myself for the same: but I knew not the

A 2

judge,

1652.

1652. judge, being but a child; for I did not yet know the Lord, nor think it had been he that met me in my heart and conscience, and told me all that ever I did, and made all things manifest that were reprov'd: though I had read in the Scriptures, that Christ was come to redeem from a vain conversation, to serve the living God. And Christ taught them to pray, "Thy kingdom come: thy will be done in earth, as it is in heaven;" and said, "I came not to do my own will, but the will of him that sent me;" and "not my will, but thy will be done," when he was to drink that bitter cup of the cross; and "he that will be my disciple, must deny himself, and take up his cross daily, and follow me:" and so the cup he was to drink of, and the baptism he was to be baptized with, they should. Oh! it was beyond words, or the depth of man's wisdom to reach; and yet we must drink of it, and be baptized with his baptism. And it was he that appeared in me, when I was young, though I knew him not, but followed hireling priests, presbyterians, &c. yet was uneasy among them all.

But when I saw that I lived not as I ought, a fear came over me, and I sat down upon the ground, and was very serious; and thought to live more carefully and holily for the time to come:
and

and when this mind was begotten in me, I felt and saw the grace of God appear in me; but I knew not what it was, yet I would gladly have held it, and have kept the enjoyment of it, but did not. For being young, my mind got out again after vain and childish sports, and sinful, foolish pastimes, when I met with my companions, sporting myself in earthly things, and so fell from the counsel of the heavenly, and lost the sense, sight, and feeling of it; so that trouble and sorrow of mind came over me. And here I lived for some five or six years; and as I grew in years, so it increased in me: yet did I often find the heavenly monitor meet with me, and sometimes did sharply reprove me, and sometimes gently instruct me; and at last did clearly open my heart unto me, and did break my peace, and caused his terrors to seize upon me; and I was wounded at my heart, and great was my sorrow, and my tears were many, and I knew not what to do. And yet in this state of sorrow I had a secret hope, that sometimes I felt, and this kept me from sinking under the great weight that lay upon me: and this gave me courage to pray to God, though I knew not how to pray; but yet I thought, that in secret, where none could hear nor see me, I could pray best, and could confess those sins, and pray

1652.

1656.

1656. pray for forgiveness and for power over them, that I was not willing men should know of. But still I found not power to forsake the sins I was so prone to, because I received not him, to whom all power is given, nor yet knew him: no, I little thought it had been him that told me all that ever I had done, and searched out all my secret sins; and there was nothing hid from him, but he discerned the very thoughts and intents of my heart, and I was even laid naked before him, and could hide nothing from him. Yet his appearance seemed such a poor, low, despised thing, that I believed not in it, nor thought to have found Christ in me, but looked for, or concluded him to be in heaven, above the skies: and though he appeared to me wonderfully by his spirit, yet I did not know him; but still rejected his counsel, and came not to him, to be taught by him, nor to learn of him, though he had long waited to be gracious to me (glory to his name for ever!) for he made many things manifest to me: and great was the travail of my poor soul; and all outward things sometimes seemed little worth to me, and I cried unto the Lord, that he would tell me what he would have me to do, and that he would shew me who were his people that worshipped him aright, according to his will.

Then

OF JOHN GRATTON.

7

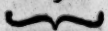
Then I read much, and conferred with many about religion, and ran to and fro, to hear them that were accounted great preachers; but neglected the great teacher in my own heart, and esteemed the priests that were then in place, in Oliver Cromwell's time, and went constantly to hear them, but often came home full of sorrow. For I was not satisfied with their doctrine of election and reprobation, which put me into deep trouble, and I was sometimes very near concluding, that I was a reprobate; my state appearing to be a state of sin: yet I believed, that men who were in Christ were elected, but men out of Christ are out of the way to God; for Christ is the elect and chosen of God, the heir of all things, and all that are in him are co-heirs with him: if Christ be theirs, then all is theirs; and Christ is all in all to them, in whom he lives and reigns; but if Christ be not in them, they are reprobates, without God in the world, dead in sins and trespasses: and all they do are dead works, dead prayers, dead preaching, dead worship and performances. And many are seeking the living amongst the dead, and among dead ordinances, dead faiths, dead observations, and dead professions. So my sorrows increased; yet I strove hard to get ease, and read much, and prayed much in secret, and went to hear

1656.

Followed
the priests

1658.

O. Crom-
well.

1658.  hear sermons very eagerly : for I was now become one of the Presbyterian church, and had been much among them, and told some part of my condition and mind. But, alas ! alas ! they could not help me ; no, no, nor themselves neither, but would tell me, it was a good condition, and I must be troubled with my sins as long as I lived, and the best of God's children had all along their failings : and all this, to persuade me to sit down contented, before I was cleansed and washed from my sins. Oh ! these were the physicians of no value ; these were they that daubed with untempered mortar, and cried, Peace, Peace, when there is no peace at all experienced : so that my sorrows increased upon me, and when the people sang Psalms in the steeple-house, and I have been there, I durst not sing the same lines or sayings of David as they did : no, it would have been a lie in my mouth ; for I saw I was not in that condition that David was in, nor could I sing it truly as my song ; for if I had, I should have said or sung a false thing as to myself : so that my sorrows still increased day and night, and my tears and fears also were many : and sometimes, when I secretly prayed unto the Lord, and confessed all my sins, and begged of the Lord forgiveness, and used many words,

words, some of which, it may be, I had
 learned of the priests, and some that were
 real, according to my state: yet, for all
 that, when I had done, I was condemned,
 and full of sorrow; and my spirit would
 sometimes have been more heavy laden,
 after I had done, than before I began,
 being condemned in myself, that I had
 not prayed in faith, nothing doubting,
 nor in the spirit of prayer and supplica-
 tion, and could find no rest to my poor
 soul. So that I mourned deeply because
 I was unholy, and unrighteous (though
 my neighbours thought better of me)
 for I saw my sins and trespasses were
 many, and believed the Scripture that
 saith, "No unclean thing can enter the
 kingdom of heaven;" and, "without ho-
 linefs no man shall ever see the Lord."
 And I mourned deeply, and was ready
 to think that my heart was not right in
 the sight of God; and I prayed much in
 private in the stable and barns, and in
 bed, and on the High-Moor. And one
 day, being on the top of a hill, in the
 snow, I cried aloud with strong cries to
 the Lord, being all alone, and desired
 him to shew me my own heart: and the
 Lord was pleased to hear and answer my
 prayer at that time; so that he gave me
 to see mine own heart, that I knew it
 was the Lord that did shew it to me to
 my satisfaction; for I plainly saw it to


1658.

Prays.

And the
Lord an-
swered.

B

be

1660.  be deceitful, and not a good, humble pure heart : and I was pleased that I saw it, and knew what it was ; but sorry that it was so very bad.

This was the first time (to my remembrance) that I was sure, that the Lord gave me an answer to my prayers : but I had deep sorrow, yea, very deep, and sometimes I was ready to say, Oh, that I had never been born ! watering my pillow with tears ; but it pleased the Lord to put it into my mind to be content, and wait the Lord's time, for him to give me farther knowledge of his will.

But yet for a while I lived in great sorrow, and fear, and trouble. Oh ! it was undeclarable ; so that in the morning I was glad that the day was come, and at night, that the night was come ; and I was apt to think that no man's condition was ever like mine.

About this time King Charles the Second came to the crown ; and after a while an uniformity (so-called) was concluded on ; and it was enacted, that none must have liberty to preach in churches (so-called) but such as would conform, and read the common-prayer, and observe those ceremonies that were set up by the Episcopalians, or else be silent, or stand up at the king's displeasure. And the Presbyterian priests, whom I had so much esteemed and admired, made their fare-

well

well sermons, and left us: for they liked not to conform to the common-prayer themselves, and so would not venture to stay with their flocks; which caused me to weep bitterly.

1660.

Presbyte-
rian
priests
left their
flocks.

Whereupon it came into my mind to search the Scriptures, to see whether those the Lord sent forth to preach the Gospel, in the demonstration of the spirit, could be silent at man's command, though they were men in authority that forbid them. And whether these, who now pretend to be his ministers, could, according to Scripture, be clear to leave us, their flocks and congregations, in the will of man, yea, or nay. For I believed, that if God had sent them, and set them up, then man ought not to pull them down; and likewise I found it clear, by the Holy Scriptures, that they ought not to be silent at man's command, if the Lord had sent and commanded them to preach; but to obey God rather than man, when the Lord commands one thing, and man another; as the three children and Daniel also, who patiently bore the wrath of the king, and were put into the fiery furnace and lions den: they trusted in God, and he delivered them. And I found in Isaiah lxii. that, in plain words, the Lord commanded those that make mention of the Lord, not to keep silence. And when

Contrary
to Scrip-
ture.

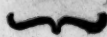
1660. the rulers of the Jews commanded the apostles not to preach any more in the name of Jesus, they answered with a query, "Whether it be right in the sight of God to obey men rather than God, judge ye? For we cannot but speak the things which we have heard and seen; and they went straitway into the temple, and preached or taught," Acts iv. 18, 19, 20. And in the next chapter, viz. the vth, 28, 29, 30, to the end, it is shewn, how they had been put in prison, and yet when the Lord had delivered them out of prison, they went again into the temple and taught, ver. 25. one came and told the rulers, "Behold, the men whom ye put in prison are standing in the temple, and teaching the people." Then they sent for them before the council, and the high-priest said, "Did not we strictly command you, that you should not teach in this name, and behold, you have filled Jerusalem with your doctrine, and intend to bring this man's blood upon us. Then Peter and the other apostles answered and said, We ought to obey God rather than men: and forthwith to their faces they preached boldly, and did not keep silence, nor flee their testimony, as these priests did in those days.

And that able minister of Christ, the apostle Paul, said, "Necessity is laid upon

upon me, and wo is unto me, if I preach not the Gospel:" he and they had the Gospel to preach, and knew it to be weighty and powerful, and were filled with the Holy Ghost, so that they could not contain, or be silent, for if they had, they had felt the wo; and therefore I found men could not silence them, though they used violence to them: for they chose to suffer, rather than be silent; for to be silent they durst not, seeing their great Lord and Master had commanded them to preach; nor silent could they be, unless they would bring themselves under that wo, which man could not take off. So they were not silent, though they imprisoned them, whipped and stoned them, and used great violence to them; but testified, even to the very faces of those kings and rulers they brought them before, of their way of worship, and of the truth and life that is eternal; not valuing their lives, or counting them dear unto them: with much more that I might mention.

So I meeting with the priest who had lived in the parish where I did, I spoke my mind to him, and told him, that I believed, that if God was pleased to fit and qualify men for the work of the ministry, gift them for it, and send them to preach, they ought to obey God; and if

1660.



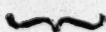
Reproved
for it.

1660.



if men forbid them to obey God, they ought not to forbear their obedience to God to please men; nor to be silent at man's command, if God command them to preach or teach, as he did his servants of old time. And those he sends in these days ought to be obedient to God, though man be displeased, and cause them to suffer for righteousness sake. The Lord is God, and will help them, and recompense them into their bosoms "an hundred-fold in this life, and in the world to come life everlasting."

1662.



He told me, that he preached in his own hired house, as Paul did at Rome, and was not silent; but that did not satisfy me, for Paul was a prisoner, and they were not. Had they staid till they had been pulled out, and put in prison, then they had done like men that trusted in God; and it was a question, whether men would have had power to have taken them from their flocks: but they fled and left us; some of them before the day called Bartholomew-day came, which they called afterward Black Bartholomew. So I having searched the Holy Scriptures, and found that they were contrary thereto, and that both the Old and New Testament were against them; that if they had been true ministers of Christ, they could not be silent, though they had laid down their

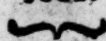
their lives, not knowing but after them grievous wolves might come in; I was fully persuaded in my mind upon the aforesaid grounds, that the Presbyterians were not indeed the true ministers of Christ; and I felt my mind turned against them, considering, if God had sent them, then they should have stood in their places; but if they were not sent of God, then they run before they were sent, and were not the men that I had taken them to be; and now they were manifest. So I left them, and saw they were like those spoken of by our Lord, in the xth of John, who were hirelings, and not true shepherds; for when they saw the wolf come, they left the flock and fled: but the true shepherd lays down his life for the sheep.

1662.

Turned
from
them.

Now, whither to go, or what to do, I knew not; therefore I was much grieved, and could not tell who the people of the Lord were, but often cried unto the Lord, 'Lord! Shew me who are thy people, and they that worship thee aright: I pray thee join me unto them, and enable me to serve thee, that I may enjoy thy presence.' And had I but then joined unto the Lord, and to the gift or grace of God that appeared in my heart, and had believed in it, and obeyed the teaching of it, I should then have been joined

to

1662.  to the Lord in his spirit; and also have been brought to them, who were in the spirit before me; for they are his true worshippers, who are in the spirit, and in that, worship God aright, who is a spirit.

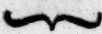
Episcopal
priests.

But then the Presbyterian being not only removed out of the pulpit, but out of my heart also; then the episcopal priests came in their white surplices, and read common-prayer, with long-composed forms, and other stuff, that we had nothing of in the Holy Scriptures: which was a dead empty sound to me, and my spirit was grieved with it; for I met with nothing at all of any life or power of God in them. So that I saw they had a form without the power, which, if it had been the form of godliness, yet, it being without the power, the Scripture exhorts from such to turn away: and the power, that they came in by, was the same that the other was put to silence by; and this power had authorized him to compel all to buy his wares, and that if any refused, he had power given to excommunicate him out of their synagogue; and then, though he would not have his ware, yet he had power given him to make him pay for it, when he was cast out, or else he acted contrary to his commission.

But

But I hearing that all must go to this 1662.
 form of worship, which I knew not what ^{Went to}
 it was, I also went to worship I knew not ^{hear}
 what : and when I came, who should then ^{them.}
 come to carry on the work, but an old
 Presbyterian, one who had spoken much
 against the common-prayer, and those
 ceremonies then commanded by men to
 be used : so that rather than lose those
 great benefits that yearly came in, for
 praying and preaching to the people, he
 swallowed down that which before he
 had vomited up. So I observed their
 worship, and when I saw it, I searched
 the Scriptures again and again, and found
 their power they stood in, not to be the
 power of God, but of men. I found,
 that God commanded, " Whatsoever ye
 would that men should do to you, do ye
 even so unto them, for this is the law
 and the prophets ;" but they went con-
 trary.

I found the Lord commanded his ser-
 vant Paul, saying, " Pray always, with
 all prayer and supplication, in the spirit ;"
 I found the Episcopal pray in a book.
 I found the worship God required, to be
 in spirit and in truth ; but the Episcopal
 worship to be in ceremony, and out-
 ward things without life. I found the
 Lord commanded in the New Testament,
 none to observe days and times, and
 months and years ; but these priests did

1662.  command days to be observed, one above another. I found the Lord commanded his ministers, saying, "Freely ye have received, freely give;" but these gave nothing freely, but sat ready to receive, and compelled people to give them. Finally, I found them in nothing suitable to the Scriptures, nor, as I then concluded, were any else, but like the false prophets who were spoken of in Scripture. Then I absented, and did not join with them, but separated myself, or rather was separated from them by the Lord: blessed be his name for ever, who hath been gracious to my soul, far beyond what I can express; living praises be given to his holy name for evermore!

Absented
from
them.

Thus I left them, with their dead forms, dead sounds, dead works, yea, all seemed dead to me; and to stay there, seeking the living among the dead, would not profit my poor soul at all; for I had this saying in my mind, whoever is right I know not; but these were wrong, their eyes are blinded, their ears are dulled, their hearts are proud, carnal, covetous; greedy after their gain, and do not profit the people at all: and if they leave people, after ten, twenty, thirty, or forty years tithing of them, yet they are no better for all the charges they have put them to: so they are miserable sinners still, and like to be.

Now,

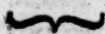
1662.

Now, when this was so seen by me, I still had not that wisdom to come to the true light, which made them manifest to me; but was considering in my own wisdom what to do, and yet could not tell, or find out the true worshippers. Well, then I heard of a sort of people much commended, who used to meet in private houses; and (as it appeared) had been great in publick in the Presbyterian time, and were driven out by the same Episcopal power the other were (to wit, the Presbyterian); and now these met together in great fear of being persecuted, but were much commended by great professors, whom I looked upon to be understanding men. So I went to their meetings, some of whom were called Independents, some Presbyterians, and some Anabaptists. So that I found some of this mixed multitude believed that God had selected a certain number to be saved, and had reprobated all the rest; others of them held forth free grace, or Christ a gift freely given to all; some held baptizing infants in water; some said, nay, none ought to be baptized in water till they believe; some baptized not at all; with many other things that might be mentioned.

Goes a-
among a
mixed
multi-
tude.

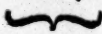
But the great thing of all, the Lord to my comfort, I met not with among them; nor could I see the power of God upon

1662.



upon them, or amongst them; but pride abounded, flandering one another, foolish jesting, vain talking, fashioning themselves according to the customs of the world; and conforming many of them so far as to go one while to their own meeting, and another while to the steeplehouse; and all upon one day, though they had much to say against the steeplehouse worship. So I saw they feared man greatly, as it appeared; for the law of man coming forth, with great penalties upon all separate meetings, they refrained, and were not to be found, and kept silent, rather than they would hazard this world's goods. So I was still in great trouble of mind, and knew not what to do; for the Lord was what I longed for, and to glorify him was my desire: but I found not wherewith.

1664.



Chester-
field.
Indepen-
pendents.

Then I went to Chesterfield, to seek out and meet those people called Independents; for I liked the name, seeing nothing at all in man, of man, to depend on: but they depended only upon the death and sufferings of Christ in his own body, and did not come to see him nor his appearance in themselves to be their life; so had not heard his voice, and the word of God they had not abiding in them; so were dead professors, and dry trees, not bringing forth fruit; but they preached free grace, universal love, general redemption,

demption, and tendered mercy to all. 1664.
This pleased me well, far better than the Presbyterian doctrine of election and reprobation ; yet I was not satisfied nor easy, for I read Scripture very much, and saw by reading the Scriptures, with the secret help of Almighty God, which he afforded me in his infinite love, “ that as many as were led and guided by the spirit of God, they were the sons of God ; ” and that, “ if any man hath not the spirit of Christ, he is none of his.” This is such a clear distinction between the children of God, and the children of the wicked one, or the children of this world, that there is no uniting them ; this is clear from the Holy Scriptures : for light and darkness are opposites ; Christ and Belial, believers and infidels are past uniting, without a new creation, a new birth, which the unconverted are not discouraged to wait for, seek for, beg, and hope for.

So I saw, that without the enjoyment of God in my own soul all was vain ; it was little comfort to me to read and hear what other men had enjoyed ; while I wanted it : the wise virgins oil would not serve them and me too. I saw that a little measure of the spirit of God was more precious than all this vain world ; and that short of this I could not rest. Then I made my remarks on those Independents,

1664.

Very
fearful.

dents, and I saw they were very proud, and afraid of men and sufferings; and when we went to meetings, we were cautioned to go as privately as might be; so that they went several ways, one under one hedge-side, and another under another, that we might not be taken notice of, to meet as we could. Then, when we came to the meeting-places, scouts or watchers were set to see and to give notice, that if a magistrate came, we might all run away, and break up our meeting. This seemed a wrong thing to me, and it displeased me; for I saw that they were not like the disciples of Christ, who were not ashamed or afraid to own Christ before men. This doing did not tend to spread the Gospel, if they preached it.

Leaves
all, and
walks
alone.

So I got no true peace with God among them, nor enjoyment of the Lord in my poor soul. Whereupon I left them, and all churches and people, and continued alone, like one that had no mate or companion. Yet at times some hopes would arise beyond my expectation, and I believed God had a people somewhere; but I knew not who they were, and was now afraid to join with any, lest they should not worship God aright, and then I might be guilty of idolatry, which I had often observed the Lord had been much offended at, among the outward Jews, and not
only

only threatened them fore by his prophets, but also brought fore judgments upon them, for their idolatry and rebellion against him in that kind.

So now I was in fore trouble and deep tribulation; the sorrows of hell took hold on me, and the very pangs of death beset me round. Which way to turn I knew not, but I could find none to comfort me, or lend me a hand in my vale of tears, fears, terrors, grief, amazements, bitterness, anguish, and deep mourning. Yet was I forward to discourse and talk with many about matters of religion, that would talk with me (for many had a love to me); but the priests I saw were in deceit, and I was sharp upon them at times. My sorrows were so great, that sometimes I roared out, and cried mightily to the Lord when I travelled upon the plains and moors, and thought none was near to hear me or see me, but the Lord alone, who was the only one whom I did look for, and hope in for help and deliverance.

Now it pleased the Lord to open and shew me many things, and he opened Holy Scriptures to me sometimes: and I was mightily afraid of sinning against the Lord, so that I walked carefully. And it grieved me to see people live badly, and that they could not believe one another what they said when they bought and sold; and when I heard a man swear I trembled,

1664.

1664.



trembled. Sometimes I felt something in my inward parts, that was very precious and sweet to me, yet I did not clearly understand what it was, or what it should be; but if at any time I did or said any thing amiss, or that was not right, then I soon lost the sight and feeling of it: oh! it hath been gone in a moment. So I saw every thing that offended the holy God, and that was reproveable, would not abide; but all defilement, and whatsoever was tinctured with evil was against it, and it let me see it, and condemned it, and me too so far as I joined with it. Oh! this to enjoy is a comfort beyond utterance to that heart and mind, which loves righteousness, and hungers after it. And when I have been talking with a person, that saw not that I spoke a wrong word, yet I have seen it, and it gave me to see it, though it may be it slipped from me at unawares for want of diligent heed, and watching like a door-keeper, as I ought to have done: and then my sorrows would renew upon me, and tears and fears were in abundance; yet a secret desire was in me, that I might die, and go out of this wicked, sinful world, where I found it rare to find a true-hearted man or woman.

And one first day, after I had been reading one while, and weeping another, under a wall

a wall in a field, about the middle of the day I came home, and finding my father and mother were come over to see us (for I then lived with my grandfather an apprentice) I thought they would hinder me from minding the exercise I was in, which was deep; so that in the afternoon I fell ill of bodily sickness: and when I felt my illness grow upon me, I was glad, and in some hopes I should be taken away out of this world; for I was plainly sick with trouble of mind: yet I had a secret hope underneath, that if I did die, the Lord, who is gracious and merciful, would forgive the sins of my childhood and youth. But after I was pretty well again, I went to the moor to pull heath; and being alone, as my manner was, I was very full of exercise, and began to think, that that which I had sometimes felt so sweet and precious, and sometimes as a swift witness, a reprov-
 er, a just judge, and a condemner of all unrighteousness, was the Holy Spirit of God; and remembered, that I had been often visited by it, and yet did not know it. For I did think, I was not worthy to have the Holy Spirit given me, and that it would be presumption in me to expect it; yet now it came into my mind to think much of it, and of its operations and workings in me; so that it darted into my mind, that it was really the Spirit

1664.

Great
exercise,

D

of

1664.
and fear.

of Truth, and I had not felt it, nor seen its appearance for some time past. And then I was full of fears, lest I had sinned against the Holy Ghost; and such terror and fear fell upon me, that I durst not tarry upon the moor, but arose (for I was lying on the ground) and got away home. And I remembered, that which made me so desirous to die, that day my parents came to see us, when I had been reading and weeping much, and such a tender frame came over me, that a hope sprung up in me, that if I died in that frame of spirit, the Lord would have mercy on me; so that I was desirous to have died, while that frame and hope continued. Yet, after all this, I fell into trouble again, and terror and sorrow took hold on me. In which time I happened to meet with a young man that was dissatisfied also about matters of faith and worship, and we appointed to meet on the first day after at a woman's house, who was called a Quaker; but I did not know that till after, or but little of any such people, though I had heard of them. When the day came, we met; and it fell out, that two other men came, and met with us, and they were both called Quakers, but had not been long so. This day we spent mostly in discourse, till one of the men (though he was a man of small appearance, and slow utterance, and

1664.

and one that never used to preach in meetings;) yet that day the Lord's power came upon him, and he so spake, as that he reached the witness of God in me; and I thought, that that exercise came upon him in mercy to me. But, alas! I had entertained such hard thoughts of these people, that I took leave, and went homeward very sorrowful, and in deep trouble; but my cry still went up unto the Lord, that he would shew me Sion, the city of my God, and who they were that dwelt therein. And that first day, as I was alone, and in great exercise of mind about these things, it pleased the Lord to shew me his people, who served him: for, as I walked along through a dark wood, and was so exercised that I scarce knew how I was, yet I kept walking on all alone; and as I came out of the wood to go up a hill out of a deep valley, I had a vision, and I saw a people laid close one by another in a very low place, lower than the other parts of the earth, where they lay still and quiet: and I looked upon them, for it arose in my heart that they were the Lord's people. This made me look earnestly to see who they were, that I might know them to my comfort, whom the Lord owned for his people; and I saw plainly, that they were the people called Quakers, a poor, despised, low sort of people; which,

A vision
of the
Lord's
people.

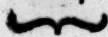
1664.

when I perceived, I was as one amazed, and in great trouble; for these were a people of all others that endured the greatest sufferings, and were by all the rest hated, reviled, and scorned. As I walked on, the vision ended; but I was in a strange frame: and considering the matter, I felt a change was upon me, and I knew that my countenance was altered. So I drew near a little village, my way lying through it; but I had a mind to escape being seen, as much as I could, because I concluded that they would take notice that my countenance was much altered; but it fell out, that when I had got almost through the town, there was a woman saw me and called to me, though I went as far from her as I well could to keep in the road: and she asked me how I did, and what ailed me to look so, was I well? I gave her little answer; but said, as I remember, Not very well. So passed on, and coming to a stile that was upon the top of a high hill, I sat down upon it; and there it was shewed me, that if I would be a true follower of the Lamb, I must forsake the world, its corrupt ways, fashions, customs, worships, and all the vain glory, love, and friendship of it. So that I saw, if I now came into obedience to the Lord, that had thus graciously heard my cries, and answered my breathings, or rather,

1664.

rather, the breathings which he had begotten in me, that then I must part with all the repute, friendship, love, and praise of men, which I then had, and lived in; and must forsake my old companions, with whom I had wasted much precious time in vain sports and gaming, which we lived and delighted in, with many other things I prized highly; all which I must now let go for the Lord, if I would chuse and follow him. But at this I was much troubled, for I was very loth to lose either, and would gladly have had both the love of God, and the love of men too, would have enjoyed both God and the world; but could not. My love to these vanities was so very great, and I prized them so much, that it went very hard with me to think of losing all for Christ, yea, even as bitter as death almost to me in appearance: for the love and favour of the people I valued highly, and the cross seemed so great, that I could then by no means persuade myself to take it up: so that great was the conflict I was in, and a very sharp war there was in me, so that I was sometimes in great distress. Yet I did not disclose my condition to any, but kept all in secret from man. But the all-seeing eye beheld me, and suffered me not to be overcome, nor the enemy to destroy my poor soul, though he suffered

1664.



ferred him to try and prove me, till the Lord was pleased to raise up his living witness in me; which I admired at, and could not tell what it should be, and did not know that it was the grace, or gift of God that brings salvation, which appeared to me, though I grieved it, and disobeyed it, till it seemed to grow less and less, and to withdraw so long, till I could see but little of its appearance; yet did it never wholly leave me, though I rebelled oft against it; but still it rebuked, reprov'd, and judg'd me, that I could not be at peace, because it loved me, and would not let me alone, but waited to be gracious to me; but I was loth to take the counsel of it: so I was greatly exercised in my mind, and was dissatisfied about things of eternity, and my sorrows were wonderful deep, and no man knew them.

Questions
arise.

But before I got home, the enemy came near, as if he would have whispered in my ear these words, 'Who knows but this may be a trick of the enemy' (meaning the vision): and presently there appeared a part in me, which was seemingly pleased with this whisper, and said, 'It is very like it may be so.' Thus old-self thought to save himself. And then I remembered, that the priests of those days had preached down all such things, as not to be looked for in these days; but said, visions, revelations,

velations, and miracles were all ceased; and that it was presumption for any man to look for the spirit of God to be given him now, as formerly. So I flung off all again, as a dangerous thing, and would take no farther notice of it. Then I even desired, and was ready to say in my heart, Oh! that the Lord would please, in these perilous times, to speak audibly to some man, as he did to Moses, that we might assuredly know his mind; seeing one cries, Lo, here! and another, Lo, there! But Christ, the power of God, is in none of them. So great blindness and darkness seized upon me, and woful ignorance, when I had rejected the Lord's counsel, and trampled such an extraordinary visitation under my feet, and turned my back on all, as the work of the enemy. 1664.

Oh! I have great cause to admire the Lord's mercies towards me, that I was not wholly forsaken by him, for his eye was still over me, though for a time I was in deep darkness and distress, and my concern was very great. In which time I conferred with many men of several opinions, but I found none that could help me in this matter, because I came not to him that is mighty, on whom help is laid. Thus was I like a bird alone in the wood, without a mate, joined to none.

And

1666.

Another
exercise.

J. Reeve.

L. Muggleton.

Chesterfield.

And in this state I met with an unexpected exercise; for it fell out, that within a few days after this (one first day) there came to me a young man, who was full of inquiry, and a great seeker, and told me, that there was a man had written a book, lately come out, that had the greatest mysteries in it that ever were, as far as he knew: and that God had spoken audibly to one John Reeve of London, or thereabouts, and had told him his mind, and bid him go to one Lodowick Muggleton, and he should be as his mouth, as Aaron was to Moses; and had given them commission above all men, and power to bless them that believed them, and to curse them that spoke against them; and whom they blessed, they said were blessed; and whom they cursed, were cursed to all eternity: with many other strange things. So that I greatly desired to see the book: for this (if true) was the thing I had desired, and I thought with myself, that no man durst presume to say such a thing, except it was really true. And in a few days I went to Chesterfield, and saw it, and as one that had my wish, I read it eagerly, and upon the reading of the first words, where he saith, that the Lord had spoken to him, and given to him and Muggleton commission; and that they two were the two witnesses spoken of in the 11th chapter

of

of the Revelations. I was ready to believe it: I borrowed the book then, and afterwards bought it, and as many other of his books as cost me eight shillings, and read them through several times, and did concur with him in many things; and at last I was so taken with the story, that I was like to be deceived by it, and also the young man. Then it pleased the Lord in mercy to visit me again, to open mine eyes, and enlighten my understanding, and gave me to see great and sad errors in his book; that his writings were clearly opposite to the Holy Scriptures in many respects; for they that were of that opinion, and carried away to believe the false prophet Muggleton (for Reeve was dead), had no worship at all; and when we met together (those few that were) at one widow Carter's, we were not for either waiting upon God, or for any other exercise at all of either preaching, praying, or reading Holy Scriptures; no, we had no more to do, but to believe Muggleton, and be saved: so we spent some time in discourse, and then parted. Now I saw it was clear from the Holy Scriptures, that the Lord was pleased that men should worship him, according to his own will, in all ages, and would be sanctified in the assembly of his saints, and had in reverence of all that were

E

about

1666.

His understanding opened to see their errors.

Widow Carter's.

1666.
 Matt.
 xviii. 20.

about him. But there was nothing of this among the Muggletonjans: though the Lord had said, "where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them." But this meeting they nor I knew, nothing of, but were to trust in Muggleton's name and power; and if he blessed us, we were blessed, live as we would: but if he cursed us, we were cursed; there was no remedy.

Now this doctrine I found was contrary to the doctrine of Christ, the true prophet, who said, "Bless, I say, and curse not." But I found that Muggleton's spirit took more delight to curse than to bless. Then I wrote a letter to him, and made twelve or fourteen objections against his doctrine, and sent it him to London. To which he sent me a letter, and referred me to his books, but did not answer any of the objections; but told me, he judged I wrote in ignorance and inquiringly, and therefore forbore to curse me till farther trial. But I left him, and sat down satisfied that he was a false prophet.

Yet
 clouded.

But I was like a man in a cloud, no body saw my case, nor I hardly saw it myself as I would. In this time I was sorely tempted, and yet some hope lay very deep, that I should meet with Christ in spirit, and know his spirit in my own soul;

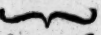
1666.

soul ; for I understood by the Scriptures, that it was poured forth upon all flesh, sons and daughters, and that nothing could be done well-pleasing to the Lord out of it, and that they that were led and guided by the Holy Spirit of God were the sons of God. And then I saw, that all worship that was not in spirit and in truth, was not acceptable to God ; for all the prophets and the apostles came in it, they having received it according to the prophecy of Joel, chap. ii. ver. 28. and promise of Christ, Luke xxiv. 49. Acts ii.

Now after I had been concerned with this man's books, and had done with them, I resolved to cease reading such strange books, and to read the Scriptures of Truth only, by which I was made a little easy : but how to come to Christ, of whom I stood in great need, I knew not, and was in deep trouble, almost quite out of hope. I discoursed with many, but found no true peace, comfort, or satisfaction, but still was under much secret sorrow, and was not so wise as to mind the gift or witness of God in me ; and if I heard any evil reported of the people called Quakers, I was glad, and took courage to go on, fighting the appearance of truth in my inward parts ; yet was the love of God so great towards me, that he did not take his Holy Spirit from

from me. Praises, living praises to his holy name for ever!

1668.


Monyash.

Now I removed from the place where I had lived all my time, and came to live at Monyash, six miles from thence, where I enquired, what sorts of professors were there. And I found a people called Anabaptists, of whom I knew very little, but chose rather to accompany with them, than with the rude worldly ones. Those I conferred much with, and took much liking to them, which brought me acquainted not only with their principles, but also with their practices in worship; which, when I saw, I could say little against them, but thought they came nearest the Scriptures of any I had yet tried: upon which I went to their meetings, and was almost persuaded that I ought to be dipped into the water; for unless I was, I must have no admittance into their church. I then seeing no farther could gladly have been so, seeing it a far more easy way to the flesh, than to obey the gift of God in me. But I could not get to water-baptism in faith; for finding them preach, that water-baptism is a sign of death, burial and resurrection, and that a man ought to be dead before he be buried; for said they, 'It is monstrous in nature to bury a man before he be dead;' and then finding the Holy Scripture saith, "That he that is dead,

is

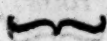
1668.

is freed from sin : and how can you that are dead to sin live any longer therein ?”

I examined myself, and found I was not free from sin, so I was not dead ; therefore I was not fit to be buried, and before I was dead and buried, I could not know a rising unto holiness and righteousness ; and that if I should go and be buried under water, as though I were dead, I should dissemble and lie, or deal falsely both with God and man.

This kept me out of the water ; but one of the chief of them came to me one day, to ask me, why I came not to be dipped ; and I told him as above. He said to me, ‘ Many do come, that I believe are more unfit than you are.’ I said, that was nothing to me, I durst not.

Then after this I went to see my sister dipped in a river called Wee ; and after that two young men : and after they came up out of the water I spent some time with them, and observed them who were passed from death to life, as they signified ; but I saw no appearance of the spirit, or newness of life, or power, or that they thereby received the Holy Ghost : their baptism being only with water, which can only wash away the filth of the flesh ; but such as are baptized into Christ, must be baptized into his death, by dying unto sin, and be buried by this baptism
into

1668.  into death, that being made free from sin, they may come to have a part in Christ, the resurrection and the life, by whom they are made alive unto God: for in Christ life is manifest, and we have seen it, and have tasted and handled of the good word of life, that hath been as a fire, and as a hammer to break our rocky hearts asunder; and water hath gushed out, and we have felt our hearts made new, and our consciences clean (being washed with pure water) and to answer the pure requirings of the Lord; and our souls being baptized into Christ, and he being put on, in him we have a safe habitation, and come to see, that as none were saved by the ark of Noah, but a few that were in it, so none can know salvation, but those that are in Christ, the ark of the everlasting covenant; for he is given to be a covenant to the people, a light to lighten the Gentiles (to open their blind eyes) and to be God's salvation to the ends of the earth; and there is no other name under heaven, by which any can be saved, but by Jesus Christ. To him be all glory given for ever!

But I found, that they whom I looked should have been dead to sin (as they professed they were) yet they lived therein, and pleaded for it term of life. Then I began to question their form, and through

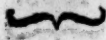
through mercy I found it was but a form without life or power, and I plainly saw they were not in the power and spirit of God, as I shall, with the Lord's assistance, hereafter make appear. 1668.

So that still the mercy of the Lord preserved me, and his long-suffering was salvation to me. He drove me out of all the inventions and imaginations of men, and stripped me naked and bare; I had no hiding-place, for these fig-trees bare nothing but leaves, and it was bread I wanted; for these outward things brought me no inward peace, power, nor life, and could not, nor can ever sanctify or make the comers thereunto perfect, as pertaining to the conscience, and therefore cannot satisfy the birth immortal.

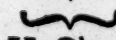
Yet I continued with them, till one day as I sat in the meeting, I observed that the elders and chief speakers were putting one another to preach and pray, saying, Pray do you, you are abler than me. Thus they were urging one another, and as I saw it and heard them, there arose a dislike in me of these doings, and I said in my heart, Why do ye put one another? Let God put on whom he pleaseth.

Afterwards there came a mighty power and weight over me, and it was in my heart to go and speak to the meeting; so when I felt that it increased upon me, and

Put one
another
upon
preaching
and pray-
ing.

1668.  and I knew not how to contain, if I did not yield to speak, I gave up, and went through the meeting to them, who had been treating one another as aforesaid, and desired I might have liberty to speak a few words; and one of them told me, that it was not their manner to admit of any to speak among them before he was dipped, and entered in by the door, and had passed through the ordinances, or to this effect; but, said he, we believe you are an honest man, and will come, and so you may take your liberty. So I turned me to the meeting, and spake so that tears ran down; I admired at my condition I was then in, for I was like a bottle uncorked, and the power of the spirit flowed in me, and when it stopt I ceased to speak.

Preached
among
the Bap-
tists.

1670.  The next first day I went again, and the meeting fell in course to be at an elder's house, one Humphry Chapman; at which time a very wicked act was put in force against religious meetings, that were in other manner than according to the liturgy or practice of the church of England, where above the number of five besides the family were assembled, and the fine was twenty pounds the house, and twenty pounds the preacher, and five shillings a hearer. But the elder (so called) refused the meeting, for fear of being fined twenty pounds; then it was tendered

H. Chap-
man.
Conven-
ticle-act.

tendered to another, that was not only 1670.
 an elder, but a preacher (one Brume, ^{Brume.}
 who had dipped the two men aforesaid) but he refused it, for fear of his twenty
 pounds: then it was offered to a third
 (one William Blackshaw) who accepted
 it for that day, though it fell not to be
 at his house by course. But when I saw
 the other two refuse the meeting for fear
 of suffering (and one of them was a
 preacher, and had dipped two men when
 I stood by) I was not a little troubled;
 for I remembered the words of Christ,
 who said, "He that denieth me before
 men, him will I deny before my Father
 which is in heaven." So after the meet-
 ing was ended, they discoursed about
 what they must do for time to come; for
 they must not be at that pass; and the
 query was, Where and when they must
 meet? About which they differed much, ^{Baptists}
 some were for meeting in the bottom of ^{consult}
 a valley, to save the fine of a house; and ^{about}
 as for the time, some were for meeting ^{meeting.}
 early, to have done by that time the
 priest and people came from the steeple-
 house to dinner; but some were for be-
 ginning then: some were of one mind,
 and some of another; but there was one,
 that I loved best, desired they might meet
 as they had done formerly.

Now as I sat and beheld them, I felt
 the same power arise in me, in which I

F

had

1670. had preached amongst them that day week before, with these words, 'These people are not the people of God, they do not stand in the power of God.'
- Leaves the Baptists. This I believed, and went away satisfied that it was so; and left them, and went no more to join with them in worship. But Henry Chapman dealt dishonestly by me, and I complained of him, and they desired me to come to a meeting that was to be at Wardly, where was one Tomlinson of Nottingham that day, to help them to purge their church, and break bread; and they cast out H. Chapman, who soon after fell sick, and died, and I lost by him.
- H. Chapman.
- Wardly. Tomlinson.
- One alone again. And now I was once more singled out, and durst join to none of these formalists, but was like a lost sheep, strayed from my shepherd, which, after a long time, I now came again to remember, and was persuaded, that it was the gift of God, or the spirit of truth that came to me, to lead and guide me in the way of truth; which wrought in me a great fear and dread, lest I should have sinned out my day of visitation; and I greatly questioned, whether it would ever appear to me again or no. Yet I had a kind of secret hope, which kept me from being quite hopeless; and I came again to be much exercised in mind, and the travail of my soul was now again truly to enjoy the Lord,
- Remembers the former visitation.

Lord, and be an instrument for his glory, and that I might know his will and worship, and perform the same, and be joined to those who were joined unto him; which was the travail of my soul. 1670.

Thus I was as one alone, like a speckled bird, none like me (for as yet I had not been at a Quaker's meeting) but thought to live as holy and righteous as I could among men, and join with none in worship, for fear of being deceived, by joining in false or will-worship, or idolatry. But sometimes I went two miles to see a woman at Over-haddon, who pretended to live without meat; where I met with professors (I think I may say) of all sorts. And one day a man of London came, called an Independent, and there was a meeting: and he having heard of me, desired me to pray before he began to preach: but I felt a zeal to rise in me against putting men upon that service, which only belonged to God to require and move men to; so I refused, and he went on, who could do what he had a mind to do, as far as I saw, in his own will. Then he prayed and preached; but before he had done preaching, I was so pressed in my spirit to pray, that it was a great exercise to forbear till he had done: and then I prayed; but with such a power, that the people were amazed, and truly, so

1670. was I too ; for I had never prayed before, for I had both wisdom, faith, and utterance given me. Afterwards I went home, and kept from all people, and joined with none, having tried almost all persuasions among Protestants, and much sorrow I had in secret, and was deeply baptized with the spirit of judgment and burning ; and I saw the baptism with the Holy Ghost and fire ; and my pride and empty knowledge, notions, and opinions, yea, my faith that I had got by the wisdom of man, were burned up. Oh ! the cup that I then drank deeply of at that time is unspeakable ; and when the holy spirit appeared in me, Jordan overflowed her banks. Oh ! it was deep at that moment of time, but in the midst of judgment the Lord shewed mercy. And it began to be much in my mind, and I was ready to conclude in my heart, that what I had felt in me was really the spirit of the Lord that had waited on me long, and striven with me ; and as I once said to two professors, that something appeared in me, as one that had much mind to be received and entertained ; but for want of my being open-hearted, and inclined to embrace, receive, and mind it, I oft lost the sight and feeling of it. These two, to whom I told how it was with me, said nothing to me at all, nor could they tell me what it was, though I told

I told them for that end they should inform me. The appearance of it was mild, meek, low, and gentle, and full of good counsel, but stood firm always, and condemned evil, reproving, rebuking, and judging it righteously; so that I was much persuaded, in the secret of my heart, that it was the pure holy spirit of God; and then I thought, if it came not again, that then my state and condition was dreadful, sad, and deplorable. I mourned and lamented; but none knew my sorrows, but the Lord alone.

1670.

Convin-
ced of the
Spirit of
God.

Now I knew not what to do; for my former resolution to live a holy life, and to be as righteous as ever I could, I found did not do, nor help me to peace with God; nor had I any true rest for my poor soul, day or night; for I had no power to live as I desired to do, though no man could condemn me for any ill things; yet I saw that in myself, which others could not; and I wanted the Lord's presence, for without that my poor soul could not be satisfied, nor find true rest; though my life and conversation were such, that most loved me that knew me.

About this time I entered into a married state, and went to house-keeping. And after some time, my wife grew earnest to have me go with her to hear a priest, but I durst not; for I saw they were wrong, as much as any, except Papists,

Married.

1670. Papists, and great sorrow fell on us; and we disputed oft, till we both wept, and my sorrow was great.

In this condition I met with great temptation, and the enemy fought my ruin, both of soul and body; all which I kept secret. None knew the deep sorrow I was under night and day; for I had none to open my mind unto, except my wife, and I durst not tell her, lest I should trouble her, and put her in fear concerning me; but yet sometimes, upon close search, I found a little secret hope, but it was very low and very small.

How he came to receive the truth, and the publick ministry.

After a time, wherein I had been in deep trouble night and day, a cry arose up in me to the Lord: 'Oh, that I knew his will, and what he would have me to do! Oh, that I knew his people, and his true worship, which he is well pleased with, that I might be joined unto those that were joined unto him! Oh, that I understood aright the things that belong to my peace!' And when I awoke in the morning, a secret cry arose in my heart. Oh, that this day may be my birth-day! For I saw that I wanted to be born again, and to be made a new creature; and my exercise was very great, no comfort could I meet with in any thing that this world afforded, without the enjoyment of his presence: and for this I travailed in spirit before the Lord; and some hopes I had

he

he would shew mercy to me, which (blessed be his name!) I witness; for, in his own time, he caused the spirit of his Son to arise in my heart, with that power and efficacy, that I clearly saw it was the spirit of God indeed, which I had so long grieved, which begat a godly sorrow in me; and then I came to it to ask counsel, and it shewed me the way of life, and gave me power to become a child of God. Blessed be the Lord for ever!

1670.

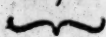
Now, one day in corn-harvest, as I was riding on the road to Sheldon, all alone, in deep exercise, and was taking a view of my state and condition, being in deep tribulation and anguish: in this state, when I was condemning and judging myself, it pleased the Lord, that on a sudden, unexpectedly and unlooked for, the day-star arose in my heart, and the Sun of Righteousness with healing under his wings: even in this time, when the sorrows of hell seemed to take hold on me, even then it pleased the Lord to appear in me, and to visit me with the day-spring from on high, in a very powerful and wonderful manner, in great mercy, goodness, good-will, and infinite loving-kindness; so that I was, in my inward man, full of the power and presence of Almighty God, and his heavenly glorious light shone in me mightily; so that

1671.

Sheldon.

Extraordinary
manifestation.

1671.

Great
joy.

that I may truly say, it far exceeded the brightness of the outward day; and the eye of my understanding was opened, and I saw that it was the Lord's holy spirit that appeared in me, and I believed, and could do no otherwise.

Oh, then I was glad, and my soul was filled with joy, because I had met with the Lord, who I knew was sufficient to teach me all things, and gave me to see, that my sins would be remitted and forgiven in and through Jesus Christ! And Christ Jesus was now become my light, and my salvation, and living faith sprung in me; for I felt power and strength to believe. And I then saw and felt what true faith was, and also saw, that I never had true living faith before then; this was the free gift of God, for it sprung up in his power, and stands in it.

And life eternal I saw manifesting itself also, through Christ Jesus; so I tasted of the good word of God, and was made a partaker of the Holy Ghost, and was enlightened: for the life was manifested, and I saw it, and that the Son of God was come, and gave me an understanding to know him that is true; for he revealed himself, or made himself known in me and to me.

Now my soul was quickened and enlivened in him, and by him, in whom is life; and I also heard him as the shepherd

herd and bishop of my soul, who was come near, even to mine own house, mine own soul; and the holy scriptures were opened to me, to my admiration and joy, and I understood them far beyond what I had done before, and they became more sweet, comfortable, and precious to me, that I wondered I had never seen them so before, having read them so much night and day. But now the Lord gave me in measure to understand them, for they were very plain now, and that no man knows them, but those to whom it is given, by the holy spirit of him which is called, 'The Key of David,' and opens and shuts as he pleaseth. I kept what I had found that day, and it was to me as the pearl of great price, hid in my own field, that I had sought in divers forms and professions: and I now understood the parables of the lost piece of silver in my own house, and of the little leaven that lay hid in my three measures of meal, which I saw was my body, soul, and spirit, and that it had long been working in me (whilst I knew it not) in order to leaven my whole lump (with its own divine nature) that was capable of being leavened into good, by the working of that good and perfect gift which was come down from above, and was freely given me of God; for the sons of God

G

were

1671.

were led and guided into all truth by the holy spirit of truth.

It was he that made David wiser than all his teachers, and did attend him from his youth; and enabled him to go against the lion, the bear, and great Goliath, in the name of the Lord: and I saw, no man could be a child of God without his holy spirit; and it was that I had wanted the knowledge of all my days; and I was glad when I felt and knew that I had it freely given me.

And now my great concern was to mind it, and be obedient to it; for this was my master and witness, that would either excuse or accuse, according to my deeds; and was my reprover and instructor, and shewed me all that ever I did, and no thought, word, or action was hid from him. Then I was glad that I had found such a comforter, and that it was poured forth upon all flesh, according to his promise, in Joel ii. and Acts ii. So that as the apostle said, Heb. ii. 11. "He that sanctifieth, and they that are sanctified, are all of one:" for great had been the work of this good measure of grace in me, that was come by Jesus Christ, in order to make me a new creature in Christ, my life, light, and salvation; or to leaven me into a new lump, and work a thorough change in me, who had great need of it, being in the corrupt

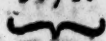
rupt nature a child of wrath, as well as others: yet I had so clear a knowledge of it, for great had been my ignorance; and though light shone in my dark, ignorant heart, and made all things manifest that were reprov'd, yet my dark heart had not comprehended it, that it was the light of Christ which so wrought in me: for then we lived in darkness, and in the night of blindness, and sowed to the flesh, and took pleasure in unrighteousness, and lived in pleasure, having our affections set on things below, and not on things above, loving the world and the praise of men more than of God; for the love of God was not yet known to us, nor shed abroad in our hearts, so as to see or feel that it was his love, though I was in a profession of religion without life, till the Lord appeared to me, and caus'd the light of his Son to arise in my heart to my exceeding joy and satisfaction.

But when I was brought to the knowledge of it, which was the Lord's doing, and it was marvellous in my eyes; oh! then my sorrow was turned into joy, and greatly was the love of God felt in me: and great love was rais'd in my heart unto the Lord; and I was deeply sorry that ever I had sinned against him, and felt true repentance given me, and saw that I never knew what true repentance

1671.

Sorrow
turned
into joy.

1671.



was before : and now I had such a sense and assurance of the love, mercy, and goodness of God to me in Christ Jesus, and for his sake, who now was become precious to me ; that if I had died in that hour, I was satisfied of my soul's eternal happiness and peace. Oh ! then all fear of death and hell was taken away ; for I plainly felt my soul so affected with the love of God, that I was troubled that I had grieved his holy spirit ; and great was my desire that I might do so no more.

Now I went on rejoicing with praises and thanks, which arose in my heart unto the Lord, my joy being great in him ; and I was ready to think that my sorrows were ended, and my tears wiped away. A new song was given me that none could sing, but he that had it ; and I was glad that I felt the precious truth in my inward parts, which God loved ; and he loves those that love it, live in it, and obey it.

A blessed day.

Oh ! happy day it was to my soul. Oh ! how I loved the Holy Scriptures, which were never so sweet and precious to me before, as they were now ; and I loved all people, and greatly desired that they might be brought to the knowledge of the truth as I was ; for I knew that it was the will of God that all should be saved.

Thus

Thus having met with the Lord so satisfactorily, to my joy and comfort, I felt that his holy spirit was rightly called the Comforter, that leads and guides into all truth, which I rejoiced to know, feel, taste, and handle of; then I turned in my mind to the Lord, to commune with him, desiring to know who were his people, that I might join with them, and worship him aright, according to his own will. And the Lord in mercy answered me, as I prayed to him; and the word of the Lord was so powerful in my heart, that I could do no other than believe it. And the Lord made known unto me, 1671.
 that the people called Quakers are his people above all other people.

Now when I understood that this people were the Lord's people, I felt a part in me that was sorry; for if it had been any other people, I might have been more at liberty to have pleased the world, and to have kept the friendship of it, and not have been so hated by it: for these people were despised, persecuted, and suffered deeply beyond others; for others could flee from sufferings, and conform a little sometimes; but these abode and stood, though the winds blew, and the rains fell, and the floods beat upon them; for the Lord enabled them to stand, and outstand it. All praises for ever be given to him!

But

1671.

Others
to be
brought
to them.

But I felt the spirit of the Lord, and believed, and indeed could not question the truth of what he had manifested to me; only I observed in my mind, that the Lord said, The people called Quakers are my people above all other people; not that they were his people [only] and no other, but above all other. So that I concluded that there were many more that were not yet called Quakers, that would be brought to know him (as I did then) and feel that he is good, and have his love shed abroad in their hearts, and love him therewith, and one another for his sake. And I felt love to all, agreeable to that holy song, "Peace on earth, and good-will towards men;" praise, glory, and humble thanks to God! for with him is joy unspeakable and glorious, far beyond what I thought I should ever have known.

A young
man, &c.
convin-
ced.

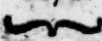
And there was a young man walking a little way off me, and I felt a love to him, though I knew not that he was of any society at that time; but he was afterwards convinced of the truth, and was a very honest man, and his wife, and three sons, and two daughters, were also in time brought to the knowledge of the precious truth, and some of them remain to this day; and one of them had his mouth opened to preach the truth. Now seeing that I had such a clear manifesta-

tion

tion of truth, I was desirous to do the will of God, and was afraid of losing the sense, and sight, and feeling of that which the Lord had in mercy given me the precious enjoyment of, and was pleased to let me see, that no man could take that from me, nor hurt my poor soul, if I did it not myself. Oh! it was precious to my soul, and then, though I had been offended with the people called Quakers, I now called them Friends, as Christ did those of old that obeyed him. 1671.

So I went on to my journey's end, with my mind exercised in serious considerations; but as I came back, the Tempt- world was set before me, and all I had ed. in it, and I saw I must give up all, and let all go; and this was not all, but to prison I was like to go, and my wife and children might be brought to poverty: but in the Lord alone I put my trust, who is all-sufficient, and is the portion of his people, and the rock of their safety for ever. Amen.

But though the enemy was busy with me, I was concerned to feel the Lord with me, to keep and help me still to abide in him, and with him; and (blessed and praised be his name for ever!) he did not leave me, nor forsake me, though sometimes he hid (as it were) his face from me. And when I trespassed or offended

1671.  fended for want of a diligent watch, or suffered my mind to wander, yet he hath not been angry for ever; though his word hath been as a sword, and as an hammer, yet in judgment the Lord remembered mercy. And the good Samaritan hath come and poured in oil and wine, and healed wonderfully. Praise, glory, and renown be given to him!

Now my satisfaction was great, and my heart was turned to the Lord, and my very countenance so altered, that my wife and neighbours took notice, and spoke of it. But I kept my mind inward, and said little, but as I had it given me, and kept my exercise to myself for some time, and neither told my wife, nor any body; for as yet I had not been at Friends meetings, neither was there any about our Peak-country, where I then lived. But I met with some Friends at the market, and conferred with them, but told them not of my condition; and the greatest part of the town was stirred, and some said well, and had a love for me, and some said ill, and hated me without a cause; and they differed one with another. But after some time, many were convinced, and came to meetings.

And the Lord having shewed me again his poor despised people, it made me glad when I found with whom to wait upon him. After some time I heard of a meeting

a meeting at Exton, at one widow Farnay's house, whose husband had been an honest Friend. I went to it, and found divers Friends were come many miles; and when I came, I was confirmed that they were in that truth whereof I had been convinced, though they were so much derided by the world. There was little said in that meeting, but I sat still in it, and was bowed in spirit before the Lord, and felt him with me, and with Friends, and saw they had their minds retired, and waited to feel his presence and power, to operate in their hearts, and that they were spiritual worshippers, who worshipped God in spirit and in truth; and I was sensible, that they felt and tasted of the Lord's goodness, as at that time I did; and though few words were spoken, yet I was well satisfied with the meeting. And there arose a sweet melody, that went through the meeting, and the presence of the Lord was in the midst of us, and more true comfort, refreshment, and satisfaction did I meet with from the Lord, in that meeting, than ever I had in any meeting in all my life before. Praises be to the Lord for ever! And I was assured, that they were his people, and are guided by his spirit, by which they come to understand his will, and are brought (in their measure) into true obedience to his commands,

H being

1671.

Exton.
Widow
Farnay's.

1671.

being made willing to bear his cross, deny themselves, and become fools, that they may know true wisdom, for which they wait in silence, and to feel the inspiration of the Almighty, to give them an understanding of the things of God, which the natural man cannot understand, because he comes not to wait in the spirit for the manifestation thereof.

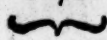
I also felt such a love in my heart to them, as I had never felt to any people. Oh! it was true love, such a love as none knows, but they that have it: and also felt the same love in them to me, and some of them got me in their arms, and was glad of me, though I knew but few of them, nor they me. So I came home, and my poor wife was sore grieved that I went among Friends, viz. the people called Quakers, and the people of our town began to rage, some disputed with me, some cursed me, as I heard, some pleaded for me, some derided and mocked me, calling after me, Quaker, Quaker; and when I heard them thus call after me, my heart was glad, and filled with joy, that I was reproached for Christ's sake, and thought worthy to take part with Friends in the sufferings of Christ, that were yet behind in his body; and thus it arose in me. Now I have got the name, oh! that I may be truly

truly brought into the nature of God's people. 1671.

But there were several things that as yet I saw not clearly through; though I felt the Lord with me, and was sure that it was the truth, yet I intended, in the secret of my mind, not to imitate the Quakers, but I would put off my hat to men, and use the same language that I had done; for I did not like their plain language and behaviour to people, nor was I willing to come into the practice thereof in imitation of Friends, thinking I should please people better, if I said you to a single person, and put off my hat to them; for many love to be worshipped, though there is no worship due to any creature upon earth. Reasoned about hat and language.

So I was hid for a time, few knowing what I was, nor what I had seen, heard, and felt; yet I knew that it was the Lord that met with me on the road, and that it was with such power, that I willingly received it to my great satisfaction and comfort, and believed that the Lord, when he saw meet, would open my understanding, and give me to understand the Holy Scriptures, which he hath since in mercy wonderfully done.

Now I was careful to hold that fast which was freely given unto me; and it came into my mind to wait on the Lord, to know what he would have me to do;

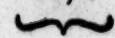
1671.  so I turned in my mind, and waited to hear what the Lord my God would say to me.

And after some time, as I was riding on the road, and waiting, the word of the Lord arose in great power livingly in my heart, saying, 'Speak truth to thy neighbour, be not double-tongued, respect no man's person.'

Satisfied. This fully satisfied me; and I saw I was to enter the kingdom of heaven as a little child, and was to learn anew to speak and walk, and stood in need to be helped and held up by the secret hand of the Almighty omnipresent God, and to mind him in all I said, and in all my walkings and doings, and I came to see that it had been the language of God from the beginning, and the language of all the righteous people in all ages, and that no prophet, apostle, or servant of God, did ever use any other language to him, either in prayer, praises, or in their writings in any age; for I saw that God changeth not, and that as men truly turn to him, they come to be true men; but this language and conversation was hard to flesh and blood, that would have pleased men, and had their praise, which I got when I was young, and it went hard with me to lose it all, which I knew I must, though they took offence at me for my obedience to the Lord; so I gave up

up in obedience to the will of God, in which I found life and peace to my soul, and great encouragement and joy in the Lord, though this way of speaking and carriage went very hard with me, and was a great cross to my natural part, and helped to lay me very low, and to mortify the old man in me, and made me willing to be a fool in the eyes of the world, and to be despised of men.

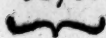
1671.



‘ Now, blessed and for ever praised be the Lord God Almighty ! He hath made glad my soul, and satisfied the breathings of my spirit ; he hath opened to me the mysteries of his kingdom, and given me a measure of his grace, and caused his light to arise in me, and the darkness to flee away ; he hath given to me the true bread of life, and made my heart glad with the wine of his kingdom ; he is become my teacher himself, and hath gathered me into his arm of power, and covered me with the banner of his love ; he is become my hiding-place, my rock, strength, and refuge, I need not fear what man can do unto me ; he is my portion, I shall not want, and therefore I will trust in him alone, my helper in the needful time ; he hath wrought all my works in me and for me, both to will and to do of his own good pleasure ; he is a sufficient reward to all them that wait

A song of
the mer-
cies of the
Lord.

1671.



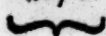
wait upon him, he is all in all, I have none beside him, he is all-sufficient, I am nothing but what I am in him, therefore he alone is to be praised, glory is wholly due unto him, for it is he alone that hath redeemed my soul from death, and hath opened to me the way of life; he hath taken my fetters off from my legs, and hath set my feet upon a sure foundation; he hath brought me out of the prison-house, and hath set my soul in a pleasant place; he hath plucked me like a brand out of the fire, and hath given me strength above my enemies; he hath redeemed my soul from death, and caused me to walk in the path of life; he hath heard my sighing, and my groanings were not unknown to him; the breathings of my soul hath he regarded, and my heaviness hath he turned into joy; yea, he hath tenderly waited to be gracious to me, and his long-suffering hath led to repentance. Oh! What shall I render to the Lord my Saviour, who hath dealt so bountifully with me! My soul, bless thou the Lord for ever, and all that is within me praise his holy name; for he hath caused mercy to surround me. Oh! the loving-kindness of the Lord! Oh! all ye that know him praise his name! for his mercies endure for ever, who hath caused light to shine out of darkness, and manifested thereby those things which

are

are reprov'd, to which light my heart is
turned, resolving to turn away from my
iniquities, and serve the Lord with reve-
rence and holy fear; for now I know it
was he, by his word, that shewed me my
thoughts, and the intent of my heart;
although I was once ignorant of it, yet
now am I assured it was this word, which
often called behind me, saying, This is
the way, walk in it. It was still seeking
to save me out of the enemy's power,
though I then regarded it not; never-
theless it pursued me, till at last my heart
opened to receive him, who is now my
beloved, and has given me to taste that
God is good, whose goodness far exceeds
all that this world can afford, praised be
the name of the Lord! for I have found
the pearl of great price, the one thing
needful for my soul to know, and this is
Christ within the hope of glory, the true
way to the Father, who promised to be
with his disciples to the end of the world.
This is he whom we are to hear and obey
in all things, lest we be cut off from
among his people; this is the unction
which I have received of the Lord, that
teacheth all things, which is truth, and
is no lie. Oh, that the children of men
would open their hearts! that the king of
glory might enter in, to drive out that den
of thieves, which robs them of that treasure
and peace which passeth their understand-
ing,

1671.

1671.



ing, whereby they would come to witness the Comforter, the Spirit of Truth, to lead them into all truth; for it is he who worketh all our works in us and for us. And this is the Lord's doings, and it is marvellous in our eyes; to whom be praise and glory for ever!

Thus my understanding being opened, I came clearly to perceive the word of God in my heart, which had wrought powerfully to my full convincement, and by it knew I must be faithful to its requiring, if I would have peace; it giving me a true sight of my state, and how I should wait for salvation: then did I see, to my great satisfaction (which caused joy to arise) that the despised Quakers were the people who worshipped God in the way he required, in spirit and truth.

So being come to see, in the light of the Lord, through all things to my satisfaction, I went cheerfully to Friends meetings, and was edified and comforted. And the third meeting I was at, the power of the Lord came upon me, and I was pressed in spirit to declare of his goodness, but it was hard to give up; yet I durst not disobey, so I stood up and spoke to the congregation (abundance of Friends and others being met) what was given me to understand concerning the creation of man, his dominion, work, state

state of innocency, fall, and restoration by the promised seed, Christ Jesus the Saviour of mankind. All which was to the great joy of Friends, and reaching of the people. 1671.

At this meeting was a woman convinced, who with her parents dwelt at Tides-wall. They much desired I would have a meeting at their house; accordingly I went, much people being gathered in the garden. This was a town in which I was formerly well known. After the meeting had had some time in silence, I was moved to stand up and speak, which I continued for about four hours; but my very countenance was so much changed, that there arose a reasoning among the people, whether I was John Gratton, or no? In the time of my declaring, a woman-Baptist put a question to me, which I answered so much to her satisfaction, that she was convinced.

This woman's husband was a Muggletonian; and when he came to understand she was turned Quaker, he told her he would write to his prophet to curse me; which he did accordingly. Upon which Muggleton, by letter, sent me his curse, the words of which were not worth mentioning; but in answer gave him to understand, I mattered it not.

The next first day I went to a meeting at Matlock, where the informers and officers

1671. officers had made very sad spoil, by taking away Friends goods; yet many others, as well as Friends, came to the meeting. In going thither, as soon as I came within sight of the house, I felt the Lord with me; I went in, and it was very full of people, and after some time I was moved to declare the testimony of truth; and the presence of God was so gloriously manifest, that the people gave good attention, and were so affected, that the fear of man was much taken away.

At this meeting the people looked earnestly upon me, at which I marvelled, but perceived it was at a laced band which I had upon my collar; at this I was smitten and sorry, for until then I had not minded it since my conviction; besides, Friends in those days shewed no appearance of pride in their apparel, neither was I pleased with myself; for I saw that the Holy Spirit did not allow of any superfluity, either in apparel, or any thing else, from a sense of which I took it off, and wore it no more; neither did my dear wife ever offer to put it on again, but when she understood that I was troubled for wearing lace, she took it off all the rest of my bands, although she was not then convinced of the truth, though some time after she was.

Now

Now my being convinced was noised much abroad, many people disputed and conferred with me, and my kindred were fore troubled, and would have had me forbore my carriage and language that truth had led me into, saying, We ought not to offend. I told them, it was the little ones that believe in Christ which ought not to be offended: but wo to the world! (said Christ our Lord) for the world took offence at him without just cause; and so they do at his followers, who are given up to do his will, and to follow the leadings and guidings of his Holy Spirit. If righteousness offend the wicked, whose fault is it? Abel could not help it, when Cain hated him, because his works were righteous; and he pleased God, though Cain was offended: even so, he that is born after the flesh, hates and takes offence at him, who is born after the spirit to this day; and thinks it strange, because they run not with them in their carnal ways to the same excess of riot, speaking evil of them.

1671.
The world of-
fended.

But when Christ said, "Wo be to the world, because of offences!" He said also, "that offences should come; but wo be to that man by whom they come!" Now, why then come offences? That those that are tried living stones may be made manifest; and that those that will

1671.

not take up the cross, and deny themselves, may also be made manifest: "for the friendship of this world is enmity against God; and if any man love the world, the love of the Father is not in him." But the cause lies here, that unregenerate men be known by their fruits. False prophets, false priests, false professors, hypocrites; "Wo be to them, though they walked in long robes, and sounded a trumpet, when they gave alms, and prayed in the corners of the streets, to be seen of men, and made long prayers for a pretence. They for all this were proud, and loved the chief place in the synagogue, the highest rooms at feasts, and greetings in the markets, and to be called of men, master. They were covetous, and devoured widow's houses, tything mint, anise, and cummin, but omitted mercy, judgment, and truth; for they were not what they pretended to be.

The Sodomites offended Lot, and vexed the righteous soul of him that entertained the angels of the Lord; for which they were offended at him; but wo and misery came upon the wicked Sodomites, but Lot was delivered. Jerusalem took offence at Jesus Christ, who came to "save his people from their sins, and to finish transgression, and to bring in everlasting righteousness." And the Jews hated him without

without a cause; him that would have gathered them, as a hen gathereth her chickens under her wings, to save them from the devouring fowls of the air, that would destroy them utterly: even so Christ spreads the wing of his power over those that are gathered unto him, to save them from the prince of the power of the air, the spirit that now works in the hearts of the children of disobedience; that roaring lion, that goes about seeking whom he may devour.

1671.

But the church was safe under the shadow of the Lord, saying, "I sat under his shadow with great delight, and his fruit was sweet unto my taste;" for it is all good; but the fruit of the evil one is all bad, bitter as death, wormwood, and gall; and so it will be for ever.

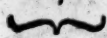
But wo and misery came upon Jerusalem also, that would not be gathered nor saved; but rejected the Holy One, and the Just, and chose a thief and a murderer before him, as those do that chuse to serve the devil before Christ Jesus, the Lord of life and glory.

1672.

Now I went abroad much, and had meetings in several counties, as Yorkshire, Lincolnshire, Nottinghamshire, Staffordshire, Cheshire, and Derbyshire. And many were convinced; and great joy and gladness,

Yorkshire
Lincoln-
shire,
Notting-
hamshire,
Stafford-
shire,
Cheshire,
Derby-
shire.

1672.



gladness, love, unity, and concord flowed among us.

My wife was not yet convinced; and I was in much sorrow for her, and so was she for me, and disputed with me often, till we both wept; but still we loved dearly. And before the second meeting at my house, as I was upon the road one evening, in great heaviness for my wife, the word of the Lord came to me, saying, I will give thee thy wife; at which I was glad and comforted: for I believed that it would be fulfilled ere long, as it was accordingly; she being soon after convinced, blessed be the Lord!


William
Yardly.

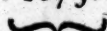
For at the next meeting one William Yardly came, and after the meeting she discoursed with him long; but at last truth sprung up in her, and in him also, that he went to her, and said, Ann, God's love is to thee, which she feeling, was given up to obey it, and was glad. Then our days were made more joyous, and we lived together after this about thirty-five years, and had many Friends came to see us, of whom we were glad; we had an open house, and open hearts to entertain the Lord's people, and was glad he had in mercy fitted and enabled us to be serviceable to his people; and my trade increased, for we had favour with God and men.

Now

Now I was much concerned in preaching the Gospel of our Lord, and went to and fro to meetings, and many people were convinced in divers places; as in Darby-
 Darby-Dale, Matlock-side, Ashover parish, Brampton, Harfdale, and in the Matlock-
 High Peak; many and precious meetings side, Ash-
 we had in divers places, as Matlock, over, Bramp-
 Ashford, Baslow, Bradow, Tideswell, ton, Harf-
 Longson, and elsewhere, as we got liber- dale,
 ty at houses, and meetings were settled, High
 and many of mine own kindred were con- Peak,
 vinced, and died in the truth. I have Matlock,
 ground to hope my aged grandfather, Ashford,
 who was about ninety years old, was Baslow,
 convinced and glad of the truth in his Bradow,
 old age, telling my mother, 'This is Tides-
 that I have been seeking for all my days,' well,
 meaning the truth. After some time I Longson.
 went to Darby, and got some meetings Darby,
 there, and at Little Chester, and many Little
 Baptists were convinced in Cheshire. Chester.
 Cheshire.

Afterwards it was required of me to Nottingham-
 go and visit the churches in Nottingham- ham.
 shire; so I went to Nottingham, and William
 found William Smith lying sick, a fine Smith.
 living, faithful man, and brave minister
 of Christ; and it was revealed to me,
 that he would be taken away at that
 time, as I told Thomas Highfield over T. High-
 night; and next day after the meeting field.
 was over, I went to see him, and staid
 with him some time. Oh! he was in a
 sweet

1672.  sweet frame, full of lovè; life and peace were plentifully in him: so I left him in great unity, tendernefs, and love, and
 Mansfield went to Mansfield, and he died in a few days, and left a good favour behind him. His memory is sweet to me, and those parts had a great losf of him. From
 Skegby. thence I went to Skegby, Hucknell, and
 Hucknell then home.

1673.  After this the Lord was pleased to lay it upon me to go abroad again into Nottinghamshire and Leicestershire, which I was very loth to do; but I durst not but go, though my dear wife was then within two months of her time. So I went to Tupton meeting on the fifth day, and to Boulsover on the sixth, where we had some disturbance, and on the seventh day to Chesterfield, where we had a glorious meeting, and some convincement. Oh! the Lord's power was over all: from thence I would fain have gone home again, but must not, and I wept fore. From hence I went into Nottinghamshire, and on first day had a meeting at Worksop, in a barn which William Baily had hired; for his wife happened, as she rode near Worksop, to fall off her horse, and break her leg, and her husband came down from London to see her, and finding that she was not fit to be removed, he hired a house for one year for Friends to meet in. I
 went

went to see her, and had a meeting there on first-day; and as I was at prayer, the officers (with many more) came railing and raging up into the meeting, making a great noise, as if they would have affrighted us, till they came near me; and just as they came to me, the power of the Lord increased, and my voice rose strongly, and they all stopped, and turned back like men smitten, and went quite away, not having power to do us any harm. We had a precious meeting, and went away comforted.

1673.

The next day I was at a good meeting Blith. at Blith, and another in the evening; to which came John Seaton, one of the chief men of that town, who was convinced, and proved a faithful man to the truth till his dying day. Many more in that town, and about it, were convinced of the truth, and stood nobly to it through suffering times faithful to the end. Next day I went to a meeting at a town called Etalstall, in the forest, where I had a good meeting; many came to it, and some were convinced, particularly one John Kent, who received the truth.

J. Kent.

The next day I went to a meeting at Kerfall. Kerfall, and the priest of the town came, and made a great noise at my back for a while to stop me; but I held on, and was sorry he troubled the meeting, for it was in a precious frame. But at last

K

I felt

1673.

I felt I must stop, and turned to him; but he offering to clear himself from preaching for hire, said, 'He need not to preach, except he pleased, for he had an estate to live on, if he did not preach.' So I bad the people take notice; 'This man (said I) is his own master, and need not preach, unless he will; but the apostle Paul, and they that were sent of God, were not so.' For Paul said, "Necessity is laid on me, and wo is unto me, if I preach not the gospel." By this I shewed the priest, from his own words, that he was no minister of Christ; Christ was not his Lord and master, since he could do what he would, either preach, or not preach: so he was made manifest, and went away in a great rage, and his company with him. The Lord was mightily with us that day, and we had a good meeting, and were sweetly comforted, and had no harm by man.

Akring.

J. Allin.

Then I went to Akring, and had a meeting, and one John Allin came to it, and was convinced and shaken wonderfully; but though he trembled, yet he rejoiced, and cried out, He is come! He is come! He is come! After which, he went home, and met with high professors, and disputed with them much. Then he took his bible, and went to and fro in the town; but he ran before he was sent, and came to some loss: so his relations

sent

sent him to me, and when he came to my house, and talked with me, he was finely recovered; so that in a few days he went home: but the family and professors about him set on him again; and he was zealous, and discoursed them, till he hurt himself again. Then I took my horse, and went and fetched him away to his uncle's at Blith, where I left him, Blith. where he did well, and proved an honest Friend, and after some time went to London, and was taken at a meeting with his wife, who was big with child; she went with him before the mayor, who, in pity to his wife, would not send him to prison with the other Friends, which he was freely given up to, and grieved, that his wife came in the mayor's sight, and was very sincere, I hope, as long as he lived.

The next day I went to a meeting at Ogston. Ogston, which was very large; I had never seen the like appearance before, the living truth went through the meeting. Many were reached, and the power of the Lord came over all, to the joy and comfort of many.

Long-
Clauſon.
Vale of
Beavor.
W. Mar-
riot.
S. Brown.
E. Dou-
bleday.

Next day I went to a meeting at Long-Clauſon, in the vale of Beavor, and there was a fine young man called William W. Marriot, who was full of life; and Sarah Brown, Elizabeth Doubleday, and Edward Doubleday.

1673. ward Hallam, and Friends were comforted together.

Ed. Hallam.

Harby.

Crowston

Lord Rofs

The next day (which was the seventh) I went to a meeting at Harby; and the day following (being the first day) I went to a meeting at Crowston, there the Lord Rofs (so called) came to the steeplehouse, and our meeting was near it: the officers, and others, came to break up the meeting with a great noise, as if they meant to frighten us all, and as they came up the entry, I turned my face upon them, as I was declaring the truth; the Lord enabling me to speak boldly, and his power came over them; but before they came to me they were silent, and turned back, like men smitten in their hearts. In a little time they went away and left us, and we had a good meeting, praised be the Lord for ever, whose power was over all!

Broughton.

J. Wilsford.

Next day I went to a meeting at Broughton, at John Wilsford's, where a Baptist got privately to hear, who was reached, and confessed to the truth of what I spoke, as John told me afterwards.

Nottingham.

The next day I came to Nottingham, and had a good meeting there on the third day, and friends were glad of me, and we were comforted together. But there was a Friend came to fetch me home from thence; for my wife was very weak,

weak, and more likely to die than live, thinking she should scarce live to see me, and the child was buried; whereupon I hastened home on fourth day, and found my wife very weak, and myself much spent: but (thanks be to God!) he raised her up again. My mother was with her, but my father was not convinced; he hearing that I was abroad, and how things were at home, he thought to come and chide me for leaving my wife in her condition. But the meeting happening to be at my house the next first day, my father did not come thither till that morning: but some Friends were got in before him; so he intending to stay all night, deferred it, rather than fall on me before them. When the meeting was gathered, after some time, I spoke; and there were some of the chiefest of the town, whose tears I saw run down their cheeks, and my dear father was so broken, that he cried aloud, in great joy of heart, whilst he trembled. At which I was silent a little, and my father came to me before all the people, weeping, and took me in his arms, kissing me now, his design of chiding me fell. The next day we walked alone, and had much discourse, till he fell to weeping again, and desired me to forbear, and say no more; after which we parted. He loved me much; yet

1672.

1673. yet he never came into open obedience to the truth.

After this, I stayed at home some time. And oh! the peace that flowed in my heart, as Christ promised, not as the world giveth, who cry, Peace, Peace, when there is no peace at all experienced. But (praises to the God of my life!) his peace hath he given to me, and many thousands in this day, that peace the world does not know, neither can they take it away from us, Glory to the highest for ever! Oh! the love and life that flows here, and springs from the fountain of living waters, in whom all our fresh springs are. Feel it, reader, in thyself, hast thou not seen it gush out of thy rocky heart? When the prophet spiritual Moses hath smitten upon it, with the rod of God in his hand,

An Epistle to Friends.

NOW, my dear Friends, it is in my heart to write a few lines to you ere I proceed. 'Have you not found in your measures this Christ of God to be what I say of him. Oh! Prize this immortal life that now stirs in you, and praise the Lord for his mercy. Live in this life that frees from death; abide in it,

1673.

it, and your joy will be full; the world little knows your joy, little knows your peace; though ye sorrow, yet always rejoice; though ye war daily, yet live in peace: and the peace of God, that passeth all understanding, keep your hearts and minds in one; in that light of life, which now shines in your hearts, that you may never fall, but always keep low in your measures; and see that none look out, or mind any thing but the Lord, who alone is to be minded in all, by all, and above all, and followed, obeyed, and trusted in. And, dear Friends, keep in the innocent life, and this will knit you together, and enliven every member, and quicken you all, and make you savoury; and seasonable fruit will be reaped, and a good favour will you be to one another; and this will feed you, and your strength will be daily renewed, and the increase of God experienced, and you will daily feel his love, that is better than wine, to make glad your hearts, and to surpass the world's love: this will rejoice your souls in times of adversity; for this love many waters cannot quench. Therefore, dear Friends. all keep your minds stayed on the Lord, and take heed ye lose not the things ye have received of him; but all wait, in your measures, upon the Lord only, and expect nothing from man, for he is not to be accounted of;

1673.

of; and think not to live on the manna others have gathered, but come you and be diligent also. Take heed the Lord call not for you, when you are gone abroad with your minds about your own business. But, oh, my Friends! Keep your habitation, and the Lord will keep you, even as the apple of his eye; "Nothing shall harm you, if ye be followers of that which is good." And, all live in the true light, and abide in it, by which all dangers whatsoever will be made naked and bare unto you, and all false spirits will be seen and tried in the true light, and the mind of God you will clearly know; and if you all keep here, and live in it, you will find safety, and the enemy will not be able to touch you.

Therefore, dearly beloved Friends, keep in the light of which you were convinced, and by which you are converted and turned to the Lord. And, dear Friends, keep in that, for that keeps truly humble, in sincerity and truth, and so all feigned humility, and all pretences and outside professors will be made manifest, and your enemies strength will also be clearly seen, which is mere weakness; and matter not, neither be forward in answering questions put forth by the opposers of the Lord's truth; but stand singly in obedience to the Lord, and be as fools,

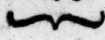
that

1673.

that the true wisdom may be preferred, and thus the Lord's will will be done, whether their wills be answered or no; and your peace will be as a river, as you hearken to the Lord, and the Lord's cause will be pleaded with all flesh by himself, and his arising will be the scattering of his enemies; for Babel's destruction will come upon her, and by the brightness of his coming, and the breath of his lips, will she be utterly destroyed; the mouth of the Lord hath spoken it. So, my dear Friends, all keep in your strength, and feel the arm of his power stretched out to carry you on, that you may daily know victory, and praise the Lord in his own sanctuary, and declare of his wondrous works; for with a strong hand hath he brought us out of anguish and bitterness of spirit, which we were once in, by reason of our cruel bondage in sin. And had not the Lord come to visit us, we had been in slavery, even till now, for none else were able to deliver us, neither was there any to intercede for us: therefore his own arm brought salvation to us. Wherefore, my dear Friends, all keep in that grace which saves, that breaks the rocks, and that hath often broken you, even to pieces, and hath made your earthly house to tremble, and hath filled you with dread. Oh! Remember his mighty works in the deep, and receive

L

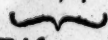
the

1673.  the law at his mouth; hear it, and do it; behold, it is near you, in your heart, and in your mouth, that ye may not depart from it. Oh! Dear Friends, watch diligently, for in this furnace you will be tried: but though you are suffered to be tempted, yet will not the Lord permit you to be tempted beyond your measures: therefore all keep in your measures, there is your safety; my grace is sufficient, saith the Lord; therefore fear not your adversary, for he cannot hurt you, if ye always fear the Lord your God, and live in his counsel, whereby your hearts will be kept clean habitations for his holy spirit to dwell in: for stronger is he that is in you, than he that is in the world.'

From your dear Friend, and fellow-labourer in the work of the gospel.

The 3d of the 8th
month, 1673.

J. G.

1674.  Disputes at Monyash. Now the Baptists were displeased with me, when they saw there was no hopes of my return unto them, and often disputed with me; for great disputes were at Monyash between them and Friends: but the Lord had opened my understanding, and also the holy scriptures to me. And I wrote a little book concerning baptism, and therein shewed, that no man

man had commission from Christ to baptize with water, since John's race was run, and his ministry fulfilled, making it appear, that the Baptists baptized without any command from Christ. This book they never answered in print, that I heard of, only I had a few private letters from some of them, which I also answered in writing.

1674.

J. Baptist
decreas-
ing, and
Christ in-
creasing.

At this time truth prospered in the Peak-country of Derbyshire, and the word of God grew, and was multiplied, the word which God sent unto the children of Israel, preaching peace by Jesus Christ, who is Lord of all; that word, said Peter, which was published throughout all Judea, and began from Galilee, after the baptism which John preached; which word Peter preached to the Gentiles, viz. Christ Jesus, Lord of all, who is the only way to come unto God by: "For no man can come unto the Father, said Christ, but by me; and there is no other name given under heaven, by which any can be saved, but by Jesus Christ," for he is the fountain of eternal life, which is opened for all to wash in and be cleansed, and for that end he hath poured out of his spirit upon all flesh, that they may have a part in him, and the cleaner we are washed (although it be in great tribulation) the whiter will our robes be.

Peak,
Derby-
shire.

1674.

Now I was come to know what the city of God is, which I had read of in the Revelations, viz. to be the true church, which hath no need of the sun, or of the moon to shine in it; for the glory of God doth lighten it, and the Lamb is the light thereof, in which light the nations of them that are saved must walk. Thither the kings of the earth shall bring their glory and honour, the gates of this city shall not be shut at all by day, and there is no night there; here is none to enter in which are defiled, neither whatsoever worketh abomination, or maketh a lie, but they who are written in the Lamb's book of life.

Oxston.

After this I went to Oxston again, where the informers were very busy, and the officers came, and one charged me in the king's name to come down and be silent, as I was speaking in the power of God; but I charged him in the name of the King of Kings to be silent, and also asked him, If he did come in the king's name? He said, Yes: then said I, Did he send thee? Doth he know of our meeting? He answered, No: then said I, How canst thou come in the king's name, if he did not send thee? And the man turned from me, and got away, taking those away who came with him; here we had a precious meeting that day. After this, I went to Great Markham, where

Great
Mark-
ham.

where they stoned us as we rode through the streets, and brought a fool to the meeting, furnished with rotten eggs, as I supposed; for he came and stood just before my face, and flung them towards me, but did not hit me with any of them.

1674.

Another time I went to Markham again, and the priest came and brought the town officers, and sent them in to break up the meeting, whilst he staid at the door. But the officers came in, and Friends making way for them, they sat down and heard very quietly; for I was declaring in the Lord's heavenly power ere they came in, and they staid till the meeting was done, and gave no disturbance, but to the priest who staid at the door without to see the meeting broke up; but when they did not do that, he raged, and said, 'He brought them to break up the meeting,' in which they staid: but he went away angry, and afterwards we departed, sweetly refreshed and comforted.

Markham.

Now I ran to and fro, and had many meetings both in the High Peak, Scarf-
dale, Staffordshire, Cheshire, Lancashire, and Yorkshire; and truth prospered gloriously. I also had meetings in fresh places; as Ashford, Longson, Tiddeswell, Bradow, Grinlowe, Baslow, Matlock. And there was a convincement at Bradow, and thereabouts in the Peak; and one

High Peak,
Scarsdale,
Staffordshire,
Cheshire,
Lancashire,
Yorkshire
Bradow.

1674.
 J. Fisher.

one Jonathan Fisher and his wife, with divers others, were convinced. We appointed meetings there, but such a multitude came, that the house could not contain them. Wherefore I went into the street under a great tree, in the market-place, that was walled about, and I got upon the top of the wall, and spoke to the people, but a company of rude fellows set on to stone us, and the stones flew about my head, and rattled in the tree, yet hit me not: but a woman that happened to sit near me, a great stone hit her and wounded her, and the people came and carried her into an house, but she recovered after some time. At last a man came, blaming them who threw stones at us, and got into the crowd; but after he had stood a while, he stooped to take up a stone to fling at me, as was supposed, and one of his neighbours standing by, who for some time had been very attentive, seeing the man that had blamed others going to throw a stone, he up with his fist, and struck him on the ear, that he let the stone fall, and did not fling at me. This man, who struck the other, was convinced that day, and became an honest man, and so continued till his death for aught I know.

H. Jackson.
 H. Roebuck.

At last Henry Jackson and Henry Roebuck came to the meeting, and got on the top of the wall also; and as Henry Jackson

1674.
Jackson was declaring, a parcel of young lusty men came and cast off their upper coats, and thrust Friends violently off the wall. Henry Jackson was heavy, and they were very hard set to get him down, but they did: I went down and spake to one of them, asking him, why he was so uncivil, he answered, if they let us alone, all the town would be Quakers.

But I went to a place of the wall that was just before the greatest part of the crowd, and getting up, kneeled down on the top of the wall before their faces, and all fear of stones or men was gone, and I prayed to the Lord by the help of his holy spirit, with a loud voice, and the Lord's power came over all, and the people fell in their minds, and were still, and became like another people, and Henry Jackson had good service amongst them after, and our meeting ended in great sweetness; and as we rode out of town, some blessed us, and seemed very friendly, and loving, and never disturbed me after, though I have since been at many meetings there, at Jonathan Fisher's house, who lived and died an honest Friend, and left a good favour behind him, and his memory is sweet, and there are meetings still, and many were convinced there, and at Slackhall also, and Slackhall. thereabouts.

We

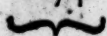
1674.
 {
 Totly,
 Dore,
 Beechief.
 Justice
 Pegg.

We went sometimes over the East More, and had meetings at Totly and Dore, where some were convinced, and near Beechief, where one justice Pegg lived, but he never concerned himself to disturb us. Most of our meetings were out of doors, but one we had in the hall, and several in a large barn; but one first day we had one near Beechief, which was at the backside of an house in a lane, and many came to it.

J. Stone. Thither came one called an high constable, whose name was John Stone, and he brought officers, and a company with him on horseback as I was declaring, and the constable charged me in the king's name to keep the king's peace: but the Lord's power and presence being with us, I held on speaking boldly in the name of the Lord; but he sent one of his company, and bad him go fetch me out; the man came and laid his hand on me, and trembled, but had not power to take me away: he stood by a while, I continuing my testimony, he left me, and went through the meeting without me. When he came to his master, he said, Why have you not brought him? What answer he made I heard not. Then he took out his pen, ink, and a little book, and called to a Friend to assist him; however, the Friend went to him to see what he writ, and he said his hand trembled,

bled, so that he could not write; after 1674.
I had eased my spirit a little, I was silent,
and gave way to Henry Jackson mine
elder brother, who had good service that
day. After some time the officers were
very uneasy, and J. Stone rode away
angry, as though he would go to the
justice for more power, and the meeting
continued finely. He staid, I suppose,
above an hour; when he came again, he
had as little authority over us as be-
fore, for the people were so affected, and
strengthened, that they ventured to talk
boldly to him, and told him, it was fitter
for him to go and search the alehouses,
and to take notice of drunkards, and
bad people, than to come thither after
that manner, to disturb such honest people
as we were; so he fumed about a while,
and at last put spurs to his horse and
rode away, and took all his company
with him, so we had a precious time,
and he had no power to stir us. Soon
after that, the high constable died: there
were some that day I saw went away after
the officers came, but they have been
poor ever since. But the Lord hath
blessed the faithful every way, thanks be
given to him for ever! Thus the Lord
was with us from day to day, and from
place to place, and suffered no weapon
nor wicked instrument to hurt me where-
M ever

1674.



ever I came. Blessed be his holy name for evermore !

Another time I went to a meeting at Whitwell an old house near Whitwell Common, and thither the officers came, but I declared the whole truth amongst them. After a while they went out, as I thought, to consult what to do, and I heard, that one said to the other, he speaks almost nothing but scripture ; and they were not willing to disturb us, but after a while they went away. Here the Lord was with us, and gave us a good meeting. Praises be given to him for ever !

Newcastle
under
Lyne.

William
Yardly.

In these times I was invited to a meeting not far from Newcastle under Lyne, whither I went ; but when I came there, the house was too little, for many came to it, and William Yardly was at it : so William and I sat down in the house, but the parlour and other rooms were filled with people, and there came a man that day from Newcastle, who came on purpose to be an informer against that meeting. He went into a bye-room that had many people in with him ; and the meeting being gathered, I felt the Lord with us, and he enabled me to speak, and my voice was shrill, and they that were in the other rooms heard plainly. Now this man that came to be an informer took offence at some words which I spake, but he was a dark, ignorant fellow, as

all

all informers are, else they would not be informers to hurt the Lord's people for their obedience to him. And his offence was so great, that he was restless, and disturbed the people that were in the room with him; yet he staid while William Yardly was declaring to the meeting: and as I sat silent waiting upon the Lord, it pleased him to manifest unto me, that there was a man in another room that had taken offence at some words which I had spoken; and withal shewed me the words, and I remembered them, though no creature had told me a tittle, nor had I seen the man; but I was so plainly shewed it from the Lord, that when William Yardly had done, I stood up again, and called out to the man, saying, 'Whosoever thou art that art offended at these words which I repeated, and then spake fully to, and opened them, making it appear plain and easy to be understood, that the words which I spake were words of truth and righteousness.' And the man heard me, and was satisfied, and got up and went quietly away.

1674.

Soon after the meeting ended, the people that were in that room with the man afore-mentioned came unto me, and asked me, Who told me? I answered them, No man told me. At which they wondered how I should know so fully,

1674.



and tell it so plainly; and God had the glory, and the man had not power to hurt us, but went his way, and I saw him no more. Thus were we delivered from the wicked, that they did not gain their prey upon the righteous who trusted in God, and for this end I write these things, that they that fear and love God may put their trust in him, and be obedient to him, and valiant for his name and truth, and fear not man, whose breath is in his nostrils, and is here to-day, and gone to-morrow.

Blith.

After this I went to a meeting at Blith again, and we met on the highway-side, for the meeting-house doors were locked up, and we kept out; but the officers watched lest the informers had come, and when our meeting was done, and all silent, and about to part, the officers stepped to us, and went away with us, as though they had broken us up; but they took some before a justice, and told him the meeting was silent, so Friends were not fined, nor the officers blamed; for they took that way on purpose to save themselves, and Friends also.

Baslow.

H. Mas-

land.

G. Ellis.

Now in those times we had many good meetings at Baslow, till at last they cast Hugh Masland into prison at Derby, and George Ellis and Hugh Masland's wife died; but one day two men came to be informers, and staid the meeting quietly, but

but after went to justice Ayre of High-^{1674.}
 low to inform, and wanted a warrant to ^{Justice}
 distrain our goods. But he was displeased ^{Ayre.}
 and sharp upon them, and bid them look
 to themselves; for if he found that they
 did forswear themselves, and that he ever
 caught them in a lie, or to that effect,
 he would have their ears; by which they
 were so daunted, that they went away
 and let it fall, and troubled us no more.

After this the priest of that town grew A dis-
 angry, and gave a challenge in writing ^{pute.}
 to dispute with me on three points. First,
 He said there was no revelation in these
 days. Second, That no man had the spirit
 of God in him in these days. Thirdly,
 That if I had the spirit of God, I might
 read in a book he had, which was Greek.
 And set a day and a place to meet on,
 and when the day came, I met him in a
 close of Humphry Chapman's in Baslow ^{H. Chap-}
 (a civil man) and many people of divers ^{man.}
 sorts were there; and when I had shewed ^{Baslow.}
 the priest's blindness about revelation,
 he put his book into my hand, and said,
 If thou hast the spirit of God in thee,
 read in this book; so I took it and held
 it till he had vaunted and made an ora-
 tion to the people, and then he would
 have taken the book from me. No, said
 I, thou gave it me to read; first, see
 whether I shall read or no. So I took my
 bible, and read the scriptures to the
 people,

1674. people, and shewed them how they spoke quite contrary to the priest, and the priest quite contrary to the holy scriptures, which saith, The spirit of God is given to all, but not to all alike; to one was given the gift of tongues, to another the interpretation; some were gifted for miracles, but not all; some do prophesy (preach the gospel) but the manifestation of the spirit was given to every man to profit withal; so I read the plain scripture, but he knew not that it was scripture, but talked against it, till one that stood by told him, It is scripture, man, so he was sorely despised; and when he saw that he had plunged himself into a great deal of error, he was silent, and was so manifest, that one Benjamin Ashton the justice's son came to him, and took him by the sleeve, and led him quite away, and left me with the people, which were many, and a pretty many Baptists, to whom I spoke a while; so the people staid, all but the man that went away with the priest: and we had good service for God that day, and were comforted, truth prevailed, and the people edified, and the Lord's power was over all. Many talked of this dispute, and the priests of the country were offended with this priest for challenging me, and envied me the more for it.

B. Ashton.

Now

Now our meeting at Monyash increas-
 ing, divers priests up and down the
 country were angry, and very envious,
 and I and others were served with sessions
 and assize proceſs; and one Wilſon, the
 chief prieſt of our pariſh of Bakewell,
 was to come one firſt-day to our town to
 give (*alias* ſell) to the people bread and
 wine, and thoſe that will not buy it of
 him, he uſeth to make them pay for it,
 whether they will have it or no, pay they
 muſt; for he hath ſent officers, and
 ſtrained of my goods for it, though nei-
 ther I nor my wife ever had any from
 him.

1674.

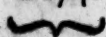
Monyash.

Prieſt
Wilſon.
Bakewell.

Now the meeting was to be at our
 town that day, and the prieſt ordered one
 of the church-wardens to go early that
 morning, and call at Aſhford, and take
 the conſtable with him to one juſtice
 Aſhton, a moderate peaceable juſtice,
 one that did much good in his place;
 the conſtable had ſome private notice,
 and ſlipped out of the way, but the
 officer of Monyash went as the prieſt had
 ordered him, and deſired the juſtice to
 grant him a warrant to break up a meet-
 ing that was to be that day. How! ſaid
 the juſtice, a meeting that is to be? He
 would grant him no warrant for a meet-
 ing that is to be; how did he know it
 was to be? Had you ſeen the meeting,
 I would have granted you a warrant; but
 none

Juſtice
Aſhton.

1674.



none will I give you on such account, or to this effect, as I was informed: so the officer came back without a warrant; yet the priest Wilson came, and after he had done his forenoon's work, and got his dinner, he sends for all the officers in the town, and came to our meeting, and brought his clerk to be informer, for they would have broke up our meeting by pulling and haling us out by force; but when they had us out, they went to fetch more, and we followed them in again, and as some were forced out, others went in again; thus they wearied themselves a while; and then the priest was going away, but I being got in again after they had haled me out, my mouth was opened, and when the priest heard that I had begun to preach, he turned again and stood quiet, and all was still till I had done. Then I spake to the priest before the people, and told him, If he took himself to be our shepherd, and that we were strayed from the flock of Christ, let him make it appear that we were in an error, and I would take it friendly; but he said, He came not to seek the sheep, but wolves, and went away (but left the informer at a back window, looking in at a casement) and confessed that the Lord was amongst us; and we had a precious meeting after they were gone, and a Friend went to prayer, and

and praised the Lord that his presence was with us: yet this informer went after this to the monthly meeting of justices to inform against this meeting; and we had then the high constable living in our town, one George Dale, who was a loving, friendly, moderate man; he was sitting in the room when the priest's clerk came to inform against Friends; he asked him, What he came there for? And the clerk told him; but when the high constable understood his business, he got up and put him out of the room, and kept him out, that he could not inform that day. It happened soon after, that this informer went to let off his musket, he being also a trained soldier, but it burst in pieces, by which he was wounded, and narrowly escaped being killed; and he confessed after, that he thought it fell to his lot to be so hurt for what he had done to the Quakers, and would have done if he could; so he troubled us no more.

1674.

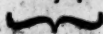
G. Dale.

After this I heard, that Wilson, the high priest of our parish, went to the justices himself, and wanted some course to be taken with the Quakers, to put down their meeting; for he was hot against us, but against me above all; but the justices Ayre and Ashton held him off, telling him, that they were not willing to have any hand in ruining of their

Priest
Wilson.
Justices
Ayre and
Ashton.

N

neigh-

1674.


neighbours, and desired him to take some other way than by informers.

Now before these things happened, I was in great exercise of mind, notwithstanding which I was willingly given up to serve the Lord, whatever I suffered for it; in this exercise I was brought very low, being deeply plunged in my spirit, until, at a meeting in my house, it pleased the Lord in mercy mightily to break in upon me, greatly tendering my spirit to the gladding of my soul; then was my tears, tears of joy, for I rejoiced in the Lord, for his mercy endures for ever, thanksgivings be given to him! who failed me not in this needful time, but supported and bore me up in these days of great tribulation.

London,

Grace-
church-
street.

At this time Friends suffered deeply in many places, both by fines and imprisonments; also the priests in their pulpits raged against truth and us. In these perilous days I went up to London to the yearly meeting, where I was mighty glad to see such brave meetings: the first I was at was in Gracechurch-street, which was so large, that the court was almost filled; in this meeting the Lord's power was with me, and I had more mind to hear others than to be heard myself; for there were many brave men there, who are since gone to their rest. But the power of the Lord came upon me, and

at

at length my mouth was opened in the demonstration of the holy spirit, to my great joy. 1674.

In the afternoon I went to the meeting at the Bull and Mouth, which was also large; but before I got thither, a woman Friend was declaring, her name was Theophilus Townsend, she had a living, powerful testimony; yet, notwithstanding that, the bad rude people about the door despised her, and spoke unhand somely of her; but I pressed through them, and got into the gallery, and after she had done, then I spoke, and first directed my speech to those unruly men, shewing whom the scripture said should not enter into the kingdom of God; but said, It is like, you think, God will be better than his word; and they were still and silent, for the Lord's power came over all; then I turned to the meeting, and oh! the streams of life that ran through the living that day.

The next day I went to another meeting, and to several meetings following in that week, and it was a precious time to Friends.

On the seventh day I met with three Friends, who were going to see Lodowick Muggleton, viz. Robert Barclay, Patrick Levingstone, and William Hague, and I went along with them, only I desired they would conceal my name from him, for

Goes with three other Friends to see L. Muggleton.

1674. he had had my letter but a little before; when we came there, his wife civilly conducted us into a room, after which he came down and looked on us, saying, Is any of you John Gratton? But Robert Barclay answered, Art thou a prophet, and needest thou to ask? At this Muggleton stopped, saying, You are Scotchmen, and I will have nothing to do with you; for I was lately cheated by a Scotchman, one John Swinton.

J. Swinton.

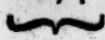
This J. S. had been to see this false prophet, and in discoursing with him, he supposing him to be a poor man, gave him half a guinea, upon which Muggleton blessed him; but before J. S. went away he told him, he believed that he was a false prophet: upon which Muggleton cursed him; so he would not meddle with Scotchmen.

R. Barclay.

Robert Barclay asked him then, Why he did not give the man his gold again? To which he made no reply: then I spoke to him, saying, I am an Englishman, talk with me; and I put some questions to him, as, Whether all Scotchmen must suffer for one man's offence? (if it was so that he was offended) he said, It mattered not: I told him, It seemed to be contrary to the nature of Jesus Christ; who came to seek and to save that which was lost. Then I asked him, How he came by his authority? Had he seen any thing,

or

or heard any voice? He answered, No; 1674.
 then said I, thou hast nothing for what
 thou dost, but what thou hadst from John J. Reeve.
 Reeve; he said, No, he had not. Then
 said I, I perceive all that thou hast, for
 what thou dost, is only the bare word of
 a man; he answered, It was: then said
 I, Dost think it would not be a credulous
 thing for me to venture my eternal sal-
 vation upon the bare word of a man?
 To this he answered, You must, if ever
 you be saved: that is strange, said I;
 for I knew he lied, and was a false pro-
 phet; praised be the Lord! who gave
 me to see him fully. Then I asked him,
 If he had power to bless a man after he
 had cursed him? He answered, No: said
 I, What hast thou power to curse a man
 after thou hast blessed him, and hast not
 power to bless him after thou hast cursed
 him, provided the man repent? He an-
 swered, No. Robert Barclay then re-
 plied, that it was strange! If he had
 power to curse men after he had blessed
 them; for then, by the same rule, he
 should have power to bless men after he
 had cursed them. But still he knew not
 me. Then spake Patrick Levingstone, P. Le-
 saying, I was with a disciple of thine, vingstone
 D. Carter at Chesterfield, and she told D. Carter
 me, I should never have any more open-
 ings or fresh springs again; but, said he,
 I have found her a liar every day; then,
 said

1674.  said he, Did D. Carter curse thee? Yes, replied Patrick; well, said Muggleton, in confirmation of her curse, I pronounce thee cursed. Then another said something to him, and he cursed him also; and when he had done, he was so pleased, that he said, It did him more good, than if a man had given him forty shillings. Upon which I asked him, What he thought of me? And what would become of me? He answered, If I was careful I might do well; saying several times, If you be careful, it will be well with you in the end.

Then I desired Friends to bear witness, that this false prophet, who saith, He hath not power to bless a man after he hath cursed him; and yet, having cursed me before ever he saw me, he tells me now, If I be careful, I may do well, and it will be well with me in the end. Oh, what a false prophet, said I, art thou! And then I told him my name; but when he heard that, he was sadly confounded, and made no further reply to me. So we left him, and went away.

This I write in the memory I have of it, and have been large in the account, that it may be seen, how plainly he was made manifest to be a deceiver, that others may beware of him; desiring that it may please the Lord to deliver every honest-hearted soul from the baits, snares, cunning

cunning wiles and devices of the enemy
of all mankind. 1674.

Soon after this, some Friends and I left London; and as I was riding through Islington, I looked upon the city, remembering thankfully the good time I had had there, and it was manifest to me, that I should meet with some trial before I got home for the Gospel sake; yet nevertheless we went forward, and came to Ware. There we called to see Thomas Burr. From thence we went to Huntington, where I had some relations. At this place great spoil had been made on Friends, being a time of great persecution: we called to see a Friend at Godmanchester, whose house was sadly plundered for meeting together. We passed on to Ives, where we staid their first-day meeting, which was very large, and Friends ordered it to be in an out-house, which belonged to Tobias Hardmeat, though it fell by course to be elsewhere that day. Here the informers missed of us, though they intended to have caught us; but they being misinformed of the meeting, we were preserved out of their hands: so I met not with the exercise which I mentioned before at this place. From hence we went to Stamford in Lincolnshire to William Collingworth's, where once I had a meeting, and at Oakham at Joseph Holt's. From hence we

Islington.

Ware.
T. Burr.
Huntington.

Godmanchester.

Ives.

T. Hardmeat.

Stamford.
Lincolnshire.W. Collingworth
Oakham.

J. Holt.

1674.
 Long-
 clawson.
 Vale of
 Beaver.

we passed on till we came to Longclawson, in the vale of Beaver; and as we walked down the hill, it came into my mind, that at this place I should meet with the exercise which I had a foresight of before, notwithstanding which, I was given up to the service I was called unto.

Ed. Hallam.

We came to a Friend's house, one Edward Hallam, where we lodged that night; and Friends hearing of us came to see us, and desired us to stay a meeting with them next day; but I enquired of them, How things were with them, whether they were quiet? For I was sure we should be disturbed, yet I durst not deny a meeting with them; but I kept all to myself. They told me as yet they had met with no trouble, but said, the priest had threatened of late. However, we agreed to have a meeting the next day, only I told them, that it might so fall out, that they might be fined twenty pounds for me; they answered, If thou wilt venture, we will: so it was resolved on. That night in my sleep the Lord shewed me the meeting in the meeting-house, and let me see a company of great dogs come in and fall on us, and rear up at us, with their fore feet upon our shoulders, as if they would worry us; and one seemed to be upon me, and had got my left arm in his mouth, but I lifted up my right hand, and knocked him down,

down, and down they all came, and they went away, and we had a good meeting after, and looked upon one another to see if any were hurt, and no man had so much as his skin broken, so we parted. And next day before the meeting was gathered, as soon as I came within sight of the meeting-house door, I saw the priests and officers of the town with two informers in soldiers coats going thither; and I saw they were pressing to get into the meeting-house, insomuch that I was afraid they would get in before me, and keep me out; but I hastened all I could, and pressed through the crowd, and got in before the priest and officers, though soon after they came in, and went to taking names, but were so confounded, that it was observed they asked their own towns people their names, though they knew them well enough. And after some time the power of the Lord arose in me, and I kneeling down, went to prayer, so my right hand was lifted up, and the dogs (which I had seen) fell and got away out of the meeting; and the priest and constable took horse and went about four miles, to fetch one Lister, a justice, which they brought back with them to the meeting, though it was ended before: but the informers, by the help they had got, kept us in, till the justice and priest came; so we all sat silent. Then this

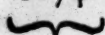
1674.

Justice
Lister.

O

Lister

1674.



Lister asked, What is here to do? And after some pause, I stood up, and went before him, and told him, 'That we were there in obedience to the Lord, to wait upon and worship him according to his own will in spirit and in truth, and not in any contempt of authority; and though we had some of us wives and children, and some estates in the world to lose, if it pleased the Lord to suffer it so to be, yet we durst do no otherwise than we did,' or to this effect. He asked me my name, and where I dwelt, which I told him; so he went on and took names through all the meeting, and fined me twenty pounds for preaching, and the rest five shillings apiece for hearers. This was about the time called Midsummer, and about the time called Michaelmas after, he sent up a warrant by the informer to justice Gilbert of Locka, and he gave them his warrant to the constable to strain of me for twenty pounds. The night before they came, I being laid down in my bed, a great exercise fell upon me; I waited to see what it would come to, and it increasing upon me, I thought I was walking upon a very fine green place, and saw a storm coming, with a very strong wind, upon which I resolved to stand it, and set myself so as I thought to stand fast, and not be moved; but the storm came upon me, and

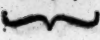
Justice
Gilbert.

1674.

}

Tupton.

and took me up, but I was filled with the power of God; and when it was over, I considered of this exercise, and it came into my mind, that it did not come to me for nothing, for I thought the Lord had something for me to do, and I felt him very sweetly with me; and I said in my heart, Lord, What wouldest thou have me to do? Then the word of the Lord arose in my heart, saying, Sell all that thou hast. After this, I fell to rest, and next morning I went to the quarterly meeting at Tupton; when I came there, I heard that two red coats were gone up to Monyash to strain my goods, and the rumour was, all that I had must be taken from me, for preaching the everlasting Gospel; for that was my crime, and nothing else, praised be the Almighty for ever! So I acquainted the meeting with the exercise I had in my bed that night before, and how the word of the Lord came to me, bidding me sell all, and I desired the sense of the meeting, Whether I should sell all actually, or give up all, and let all go patiently and freely for the truth's sake, if the Lord was pleased to suffer me to be so tried with the loss of all? And it was the sense of the meeting, that I should give up all into the Lord's hand. And though at that time I owed monies both to Friends and others, which would have set me

1674.  hard to have paid it on a sudden, without selling what I had in mine own possession, for I had much owing me, but could not get it in suddenly, whatsoever came on me; but most I owed was to Friends, and they were at the quarterly meeting, and came to me, and were very tender to me, and encouraged me to give up all freely, and if all went, they would be content to take things as they were, or as it did fall. A precious day it was, and the Lord's power was over all the powers of the earth, and I was strengthened, praises to our God for ever!

Justice
Gilbert.

Justice
Lister.

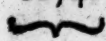
I came home that night, and the two informers were come to town with a warrant from one justice Gilbert, it being certified to him concerning that meeting at Claufon, by the said Lister, called a justice, who came to that meeting as aforesaid himself, and never prospered since, but is wasted and gone into a low condition, and become poor enough: he lived near to Melton-Mowbray. The informers sent for the constable, who heard that I was not at home over night, upon which he refused to come till the next morning: but on the next morning early, I sent for a man of the church of England, to whom I owed ten pounds; he came, and I delivered quick goods into his hand to sell and pay himself, and give me the overplus. So he took them,
and

and was well pleased to see my honest care of him. To another man I owed three pounds, but it happened he had a cow of mine in his grounds; so I sent to him to keep her for his money, or sell her, and pay himself, and give me the overplus. Then what I owed to Friends I was easy about, seeing they had been so kind, and tender, and gave up theirs freely.

Soon after this was done, I saw the constable go into a neighbour's house, to whom I went, and spoke to him; but, poor man! he was full of trouble, and wanted counsel; when he saw me, he said to me, You have brought yourself into trouble, and me too, and was very passionate. Man, said I, I have done no man any wrong; I would not have thee troubled, for if thou wilt strain thou mayest, but if thou wilt take my counsel, I will tell thee what I would have thee to do; he asked me, What would you have me to do? said I, Send these men away, and tell them, if thou needest assistance, thou canst call to thy neighbours.' He was pleased with my advice, and went up to the inn; but before he left me, the informers came, and they knew me, and said, I was the man; yes, said I, How doth justice Lister? I thought he had been more moderate, than to have prosecuted the law against me to this height. One of them said,

1674.

Justice
Lister.

1674.  said, You are a people that will be obedient to no law. Then I felt the Lord's power to arise in me, and I said unto him, What dost thou think, Are we children of God, or children of the devil? If the latter, then thou mayest take courage to do as thou dost; (though I knew he ought not, if it was so) but if thou thinkest we be children of God, How darcest thou? But one thing let me tell thee, the scripture saith, "That he that is born after the flesh, persecutes him that is born after the spirit." Now, said I, there is thy mark; and further, said I, it saith, "That is an evident sign to them of perdition, but to you of salvation, and that of God."

The Lord's power appearing with these words, they both were silent, and went away to the inn, and the constable also followed them; I staid a little, and weighed in my mind what to do. Whereupon I felt freedom to go to the inn also, and finding the informers at meat, I made them drink, and talked with them, enquiring of Friends at Clawson, How they stood? And whether any shrunk? And they told me, Indeed Friends suffered deeply.

Now the constable and some neighbours were in another room, and called me to come to them; but when I came, they said to me, Are you so mad to stay with

with your enemies? Ah! said I, we must love our enemies, and do good to them that hate us, and pray for them that persecute and despitefully use us. Ah! said they, It is well for you if you can do so, for we cannot.

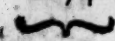
1674.

Now the informers came to take leave of the constable, and told him, they did believe I was an honest man, and they would have him be as favourable to me as he could, saying, It would not be much, if the townsmen would pay it for him; for, said they, we heard as we came up the country that he was an honest man. Then they begged of the constable to give them some money to help them home, for they had above thirty miles to go; upon which he gave them six-pence.

When they were gone, the constable came down, and I thought he would have followed me into my house; but he staid in the street, hanging down his head very sorrowfully.

Now some of the town offered to pay the money, and take it up again as I could pay it, but I could not with freedom do it; but while I was at the inn, some of the chief women of the town came to my house, and finding nobody in it but my wife, they, against her mind, violently took all the best of the goods away, and carried them (on purpose

1674.



pose to save them for us) to a neighbour's house; so that when I came home, and saw the goods gone, I was sorry, and asked my wife how it was? She told me she could not help it, and whither they had carried them she could not tell, for they would do it, whether she would or no.

Now I went out, and invited the constable to come in, but he desired me to shut the door on him; I answered him, nay, for I had done no wrong, nor was I afraid of any man, and besides, I was not free to shut my doors; then he came in, and sat down in much trouble, hanging down his head.

After some time we had some warm meat ready for dinner, and we invited him to dine; he roused himself up, and eat with us; and after dinner he went and sat down again as before in much trouble.

At last I began to think what to do with him: for no way opened to him how to do, and it went hard with him to strain, for he seemed confounded. Then I spoke and told him, He might write down what goods there were; he saw how things were, and I could not help it, and that he might leave them with me, for I would not make them away, if he did not; and he also might proclaim them at the market-cross, and

in

in the steeple-house, and if any body would buy them, let them come to buy them at my house. 1674.

This proposal he liked, and did accordingly; but when people heard them proclaimed, they wished sad things to such as bought any of them: so that none were sold.

And soon after this the sessions came, whither the constable went, and meeting with justice Gilbert of Locka, who granted the warrant, and another, called Sir Henry Every, he went to them, and offered to deliver them his warrant, and his bill of goods that he had distrained, and told them that he could not sell them; but, said justice Gilbert to him, If you cannot sell them in Derbyshire, you must carry them into Yorkshire: no, replied justice Every, What need of that, Sir? You granted out your warrant, and you have done your office; and good fellow, said he to the constable, thou hast executed thy warrant, and hast done thy office, if thou canst not sell them, thou canst but go thy ways home, and let it be as it is; for he was chief justice in that county, and loved honest Friends, but hated hypocrites, and was much against proud priests; also the earl of Devonshire and his lady had spoke to him before to be tender of me, as he was ever after.

Justice
Gilbert.
Sir Henry
Every.

Earl of
Devon-
shire.

P

After

1674.
~

After this, when I was a prisoner, he laid hold of every twig of encouragement till he got me out again: and when king James put out his proclamation (which some would have hindered me the benefit of) he spoke to the judge, and got me discharged.

The constable came home, and told me what had passed with great joy, that he came off so finely, and that my goods were saved.

Thus the Lord delivered me, defended and pleaded my cause in the time of need. Oh! his mercies were great to me at this time, he filled me with the holy spirit that day the informers were with me; so that sometimes I have been ready to say, that if I had had an house full of goods to lose, I could freely part with it for the sake of truth.

For to us it is given in the behalf of Christ, not only to believe in him, but also to suffer for his sake; "and all that will live godly in Christ Jesus must suffer persecution." And it is cause of great joy, when we are counted worthy to suffer for him, and he that loseth any thing for his sake, shall receive an hundred fold in this life, and in the world to come life everlasting; "and if we suffer with him, we shall reign with him; but if we deny him, he also will deny us:" so they are counted happy that endure;

endure; for "he that endures to the end shall be saved." Therefore we are exhorted "to lay hold on eternal life, and hold it fast, lest any take our crown, which he freely gives to all them that love his appearing," 2 Tim. iv. 8. 1674.

After this sessions I was fined several times twenty pounds a time, and the constables took the same way as the first did, and always went to justice Every, and returned their warrants to him, which he took, and discharged the officers, and sent them home; so the Lord preserved me from the spoilers, blessed be his name! For he suffered the enemies of truth to go no further, nor to do no more than he was pleased to give his people strength to bear with comfort and rejoicing; for he hath been my rock and stay, yea, my portion both for soul and body; he hath helped me in all my necessities, and stood by me to hold up my head above all the waters and tempests; he is my salvation and treasure, which will never decay, praise for evermore be given to him! Justice Every.

Now after this I went to a meeting at 1676. a town called Whittington, to which meeting came the mayor of Chesterfield, whose name was Richard Clark, where two men waited on him; but the priest of the town (as they told us) sent two informers, who followed the mayor into Whit-tington. R. Clark.

1676. the meeting, though he knew not what or who they were, that I could hear of.

Now the mayor came simply and innocently to hear truth declared, for I was preaching when he came in and stood up close by me: I was opening to the people the parable of the supper, (Luke xiv.) and how those who were bidden made excuses, but the servant was sent out again into the streets and lanes of the city, to bring in the poor, the maimed, the halt, and the blind to the supper; and I was shewing who these poor, lame, blind, and halt were, and how those that were wounded, and lay lame and sick, came to the supper; the mayor asked me, How they were wounded? and without stopping I told him, that they were the poor in spirit who received the kingdom, and the wounded in spirit, saying, "The spirit of a man would sustain his infirmities; but a wounded spirit, who can bear?" and so went on. And the power of God broke mightily through the meeting, that the mayor cried out, It is true! When I had done, he went out and wept bitterly, and desired Francis Davenport, the friend of the house where the meeting was, to shew him where he might lie down a while; he had him into a chamber, where he lay down and cried, weeping sore, and he was very loving to me all his days after,

F. Davenport.

after, though, poor soul, he was very rich in worldly riches, and it was too hard for him to stand in a publick profession of the truth with us; but he was under a concern in his mind to his dying day.

1676.

But though the mayor, I believe, neither thought to do, or did us any harm, yet the laws were such, that I was fined twenty pounds again for preaching, and the friend of the house was fined twenty pounds also; for the two men that the priest of the town sent to our meeting (as aforefaid) went and informed against it for a conventicle.

And one justice Barton of Dranfield, without ere calling me before him to hear my accuser face to face, according to the antient laws of the nation, sent out his warrants to strain of our goods, and they took Francis Davenport's cattle and horses, and went to Pleshly fair, and sold most of them before Francis and I could get thither; but after we came and told it in the fair how they came by those goods, nobody would buy any more of them: and one man, who had ignorantly bought some of the cattle, was sore troubled, and said, Had he known it, he would not have bought them.

Justice
Barton.
Magna
Charta.

But the officers of our town had got a precedent, and took the same method

as

1676. as the former constable had done before, only they took some goods away from me, but could sell none; upon which the constable acquainted justice Every, who bid him go his way home, and let it be as it was. Thus this justice stood in the gap, and stopped my goods in favour to me from being sold time after time, by which means I was preserved wonderfully from being plundered; and the goods they took out of my house were brought again after the sessions.

Justice
Every.

Indeed my neighbours shewed much love to me, and were loth to have me hurt at any time, so that the Lord was wonderfully good both to me and my family, and was pleased to work for me from time to time; (glory to his great and honourable name for ever!) so that I never wanted a bed to lie on, or beds for my friends, nor food to eat, nor raiment to put on.

Met three
Friends
at Chester

About this time I went into Cheshire, and had a meeting at Chester, where I met Roger Haydock, Eleanor Loe, and Mary Warrel, of whose company I was glad.

—Brom-
field.

—Mad-
dock.

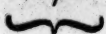
At that meeting I shewed what and who some of those stars were, which John saw fall from heaven. Here was one Bromfield convinced at this meeting, who came some time after to see me at London. There was also one Maddock, a blind

a blind man, who was well affected with truth that day. In this place there were several men who had received the truth, and yet through unfaithfulness fell away; but when I understood this I was sorry, and went again to Chester; for I had no ease in my spirit for two days and nights. I came there on the sixth day of the week, and at night I had a few words before meat, where an apothecary and his wife were at supper; she was Jarvis Yates's J. Yates. wife's sister who was with me.

And the next day I walked to and fro through the market, with a great concern upon my mind, but had not an opportunity in the street to speak to the people. The apothecary got me to his house, where both he and his wife were very friendly; he also told me, that the unfaithfulness of some in that city had hindered them, else, said they, we had been amongst you ere this day. I talked with them as it was with me, and then we parted friendly.

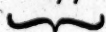
On the first day I went to Richard R. Smith's house to the meeting, and sat me down, and staid an hour or more ere the meeting was fully gathered; then I stood up and went nearer to Friends, for it was in a very large room, and the Lord in mercy was pleased to give us a precious meeting, and there was great brokenness of heart, with many tears; at

1676.



at the latter end of this meeting, Richard Smith spoke very tenderly, and desired that they who were unfaithful might amend their ways, and for the time to come do better; yet, poor man, notwithstanding this exhortation, he himself, after some time, did worse than he had done before, for he wrote against Friends and the blessed truth; however he, with some others who opposed the truth, were soon after taken away. But the blind man I mentioned before did well.

1677.



Ashford.

Now there was a time that King Charles the Second gave liberty to Presbyterians, for such as would, to licence places to meet in, and they got a great barn at Ashford in the Water; and I happened to be in town one day, and saw their meeting break up, and there appeared in the street abundance of people, and it troubled my spirit to see so many poor people led away, with such as I had tried and found to be false apostles; but within three days the word of the Lord came to me, to go to that meeting next fifth day, but it was very hard with me to give up to go, for there were many that I loved very well, and that I believed loved me; but the Lord was good, and encouraged me, upon which I acquainted an ancient Friend with the concern which was upon me, and he also encouraged me.

On

On the fifth day morning meeting a Friend came to me, and to the meeting we went, where the priest was preaching, and preached false doctrine. Now my message to the people was, that that meeting should fall and come down ere long, with what more I had to say, as it did in a few weeks after, and there were never meetings there since in that barn, though they had set up a pulpit in it, and fine seats; but when the priest had done (whose name was Oldfield, whom I knew) I then desired the privilege of the gospel, which was, 'If any thing was revealed to him that sat by, let him speak, and the rest hold their peace;' but before I had said what I had to say, they came violently upon me, and abused me, haling me out; the priest looked pale, and went away, though I charged him with false doctrine; when I was out, I declared to the people, in the power of God, against their priests and worship, but none answered me in defence of their way; so when I had done I went away, and soon after saw the word of the Lord fulfilled, for their meeting was not to be found in all the country, because they fled and got into holes in those suffering times.

1677.

Priest
Oldfield.

Another day I was at Wirksworth market, and the people swore so dreadfully, that it was to me as if sparks of fire

Q

1677.

fire had flown about, at which my spirit was sore grieved; and the word of the Lord came unto me, saying, 'Go to the market-cross, and declare against the wickedness of the people.' But I was loth to go, for I knew the people (many of them) to be a rude, wicked, drunken, swearing people; besides, I did not know but they might pull me to pieces, and therefore I took my horse and went home. But, oh! I was followed with sharp reproofs and righteous judgments from the Lord, with which I was in deep sorrow, and I looked for the renewing of that concern no more.

But the next time I went, when I was in the market again, an exercise fell heavy upon me to go and warn the people. Now I went, not standing to consult any more, and in the heavenly power of God declared the truth, and bore my testimony against their great wickedness, inso-much that the people were much reached, and wept aloud, and no man had power to hurt me, though I stopped twice and sat down, and waited still for the fresh motion of life, and the Lord enabled me to stand up again: when I had eased my spirit, I came away in peace and great joy, and after I came to my inn, some followed me, but it rose in my heart to go out of town, which I did; but after I was gone, I heard one justice

justice Loe came to the town, and sent to my inn to fetch me before him, intending to have sent me to prison, but the Lord delivered and saved me out of the hands of wicked men (for this justice was a great persecutor of Friends). Thus the Lord was with me, and kept me wherever I went; oh! let my soul livingly praise his holy name.

1677.

Justice
Loe.

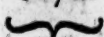
About this time I went much to meetings, and run to and fro, the Lord helping me, without whom I could do nothing, for in him all fulness dwells; and many were convinced, and our meetings were greater and greater, and many proved faithful; but the priests raged sore, for I went abroad as much as I could, and kept my trade going too, my family also grew bigger and bigger, and my care was great to pay all I owed to every body, so that I was oft constrained to ride many miles after meetings, to gain my markets on the second day of the week, and the Lord blessed me every way.

1678.

Now my neighbours saw many Friends come to visit me at my house, for the more I travelled and laboured in the work and service of the Lord, the more I gained acquaintance with Friends abroad; and I went often to the yearly meeting at London, and there enquired, how truth spread abroad from nation to nation? And I was glad, and Friends

London.

1678.



came in love to see me, who went in the love of God to visit them; and our towns people thought that they would eat me up, as I heard, and waited to see me fail in the world; but when it did not prove so, but rather the contrary, then they changed their minds, and said, that the Quakers (as they called them) gave me money for preaching; and many such lies, false accusations and slanders I patiently bore in those days.

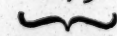
Thus the subtil serpent, by his wicked lies and false reports, laboured to hinder the prosperity of the pure truth; yet I saw no way, but to give up my cause, and the cause of truth, into the Lord's hand, for him to plead it as he saw meet.

But the priests seeing the magistrates did not like to persecute us, they laid their heads together, and got out a writ against me and other two Friends.

York.

But so it happened, that I was gone to York, and those parts thereabouts in truth's service, and came not home till the writ was near being out of date, but the other two Friends were taken and sent to prison at Derby, and were kept long prisoners there.

1679.



Bishop's court.

After this they cited me to the Bishop's court, to which I went, and when I was called, I appeared and went up towards the high-priest, and the others, one of them was called the register, whose name

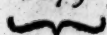
was

was Nichols of Lichfield, and when I came near him, he looked on me with an envious countenance, saying to me, Art thou there? I thought to have had thee in gaol before now; but, said he, I will have thee in gaol. 1679.
Nichols.

Then said I, I have read, that the Devil shall cast some of you into prison; but I never read that any prophet, apostle, or servant of Jesus Christ laid any man in prison for conscience sake. But Nichols answered again, I will lay thee in prison. Then said I, Thou wilt join with the Devil.

Pray Mr. Wilson, said he to the high priest (the same who came before our meeting to persecute us, after he had been at that called his sacrament) Do you admonish him? Upon which I looked for some information and counsel; but all he said was, I admonish you to come to church: I admonish, I admonish you to come to church. I admired at their folly and blindness; for I expected they would have laboured to have shewed me, that it was my duty to come to church (or that I was in an error); but seeing nothing came, but I admonish, I admonish, I admonish thee, three times, to make way for their wicked court to go on to persecute me, and get money; said I to him, Prithee, whether dost thou admonish me for the good of my soul,
or

1679.



Affizes at
Derby.

or for the love of my money? Said Nichols, I for the love of thy money, and he for the good of thy soul. With that the people made a noise with laughing; for they saw it was money, more than the good of souls, that they aimed at in that wicked court. And then the Lord's power arose in my heart, and I was going to declare against them; for I saw their wickedness in their high places was very great, and from an evil, cruel, persecuting, selfish spirit: but they cried out, Have him away; upon which I was violently hurried out of their court. And the next court I was cited again, and in the mean time summoned to appear at the affizes at Derby. And the bailiff of our hundred told me, We must go to the clerk of the affizes; I told him, We would not, for it was in vain to go to him, except we would give him money. Then said he, You must appear before the judge; I seemed willing to that, and told him, It might do well to let him know how we were abused by him, and his men the bailiffs; for we are hurried to the affizes and sessions, because we cannot give you money, and people of other opinions, that can give you money, you leave them at home; yea, said I, to my own knowledge, you left one at home for one groat. We were many Friends together, and when he heard me

so

so free to appear before the judge, and discover how they made their ends of the people in the country, he bid me get away home, if I would. I said, then I would have all my Friends along with me; he bid me take them, and away we came home, and these greedy men got no prey on us. 1679.

The next day being cited to appear again before the spiritual court, so called (but rather wicked court) at Bakewell; Bakewell. we went three of us: so I came from the temporal court one day, and went to the spiritual court another, but they all missed of their chief ends of me; for they were of Felix's mind, they troubled me the oftener, thinking to get money of me. When we came there, the court was removed into the inn to go to dinner; after which they held their court in a chamber, where we appeared; but Nichols. Nichols said, he would not take mine for an appearance. I asked him, why, saying, any time that day, while the court lasted, would do. The priest answered, saying, You are a people that will not be obedient to the king's laws. I then asked him, Is the king your ruler? To this he was silent, and bid an apparitor take me away, but I staid till the other Friends had done, and then went away.

After this I travelled hard, and went to meetings in many places; and one day,
as

1679. as I was drawing homeward, having been
 in Leicestershire, and Nottinghamshire,
 coming by Derby, William Fallowfield
 being with me, a letter from Abraham
 Morris of Lincoln met me, desiring me
 to speak to a great woman, who was
 about to put some Friends in prison (who
 were her tenants) for tythes: so I went
 to her, and after some talk with her, she
 grew very cool and moderate, and or-
 dered me to go to her steward, one Mil-
 lus of Turnditch, about eight miles from
 Derby; so William Fallowfield left me.
 I went home from Derby, and on the
 next day I went to the steward's, but he
 was gone to Brasson. I went thither, and
 he was gone to the hall. I sent for him
 to my inn, but he would not come; so
 I went to him to the hall, where were
 two priests, and the master of the house,
 and some of Derby, who all knew me;
 I got Millus the steward from them into the
 hall, where I discoursed him, telling him
 his mistress's mind, and left him very
 friendly; after which, I never heard more
 of the Friends going to Lincoln prison:
 and I pressed on them to go home to my
 family, though it snowed and blew hard;
 but when I was on Brasson Moor, the
 word of the Lord came to me, bidding
 me go to Auldwark, and help them out.
 Thither I went, not daring to deny; there
 was no priest, nor priest's shop in that
 town,

Leicester-
shire.Notting-
hamshire.

Derby.

W. Fal-
lowfield.Ab. Mor-
ris.Millus.
Turn-
ditch.

Brasson.

Brasson
Moor.Auld-
wark.

town, and divers were under trouble 1679.
 about religion. I had some acquaint-
 ance with one John Buzston, to whose J. Buz-
 house I went, and he bid me welcome. ston.
 I acquainted him I had a desire to
 have a meeting, and they acquainted
 the town, and about the hour appointed
 the house was full. I was enabled to
 speak as in the ability of God's Holy
 Spirit, and was powerfully carried on for
 about four hours. The meeting ended
 before twelve, but some staid till two,
 and the man and his wife were convinced,
 and both their parents. And the servant
 man, who hath since a fine testimony
 amongst Friends, and twenty more of
 the town; and John Buzston said, he
 believed all the town was convinced.
 And many came to meetings, some till
 they died, some till they married; some
 went into America, and did well, as I
 heard. I had also meetings about the
 same time at Newman Lays-Millen, and a Newman
 brave convincement there was in those Lays-
 days; some of whom are alive to this Millen.
 day, and faithful to the truth. And also
 in many other places where the Lord or-
 dered me, and went with me, and by
 his own right arm did unutterable things;
 many were convinced, yea, hundreds, I
 believe, and came to meetings, at which
 the Devil was angry, and I was cast into
 prison.


R

For


1680.

For soon after this, a writ *de Excommunicato Capiendo* came out; while I had been abroad among Friends, I had a great sense of a deep suffering falling upon me, insomuch that I said to a Friend, that it was so deep, I could not see to the bottom of it; and I desired in my heart of the Lord, that I might be enabled to stand it. And before I got home out of Yorkshire, I had a dream one night, in which I saw, as I thought, a great mastiff dog took hold on me, and held me by my clothes just by Derby gaol; and I saw it was to no purpose to strive, and therefore, after I had called to his master to take him off (for I did send to the bishop to take him off) but could not see he was inclined to it, then I gave up to let him hold me. And the day before I got home, I felt the suffering more and more; and the next day I went to Bakewell fair, and the apparitor (Brigham) proved the dog, for he arrested me before I could get into mine inn, or put up my horse in the stable, being the 16th of the sixth month 1680. So to Derby I must go, but we staid that night at Bakewell, whither my wife came next morning, and wept. I bid her not weep, but rather rejoice that we were counted worthy to suffer for Christ's sake, who had suffered so much


for

for us. Then she bore it very well, when ^{1680.}
she saw me bear it so chearfully. 

Now when we came to the gaol, I demanded a free prison, but the gaoler was unwilling, and offered me kindness if I would stay in his house, and pay for my table; but I had a wife and family, and therefore could not afford to lie at seven shillings *per* week in his house; but I insisted to have a free prison, as I knew the law allowed: for it happened, that a little before there were several Friends in that prison, whom he put in the dungeon among thieves, and would scarce allow them clean straw; so I got a statute book, which said, that no sheriff, nor under-sheriff, nor gaoler, nor under-gaoler, should keep and lodge debtors and felons together, upon the penalty of five pounds. So I took it and went to the sheriff, whose wife and mine claimed some kindred; they were very friendly to me, and desired me to leave my book with him, and meet him at the assizes, where he would speak to the judge, which he did, and the judge ordered my Friends to be put from the felons, and to have rooms to themselves. The next that came to prison was myself, so I demanded one of those rooms; he said he had corn in it; take it out then, said I, which he did in great vexation, and put me there, it being an old prison-chamber; so I

1680.  borrowed a bed, with some other odd things, and went in, and he came up to see how I framed; I had a fire, and though I could see the stars at night through the holes in the tiles, yet I lay warm enough: I had my health, and was well content, and thought in my mind that this was but small suffering to what I might go through before I died. So I gave it up all into the Lord's hand, soul, body, and spirit, wife, children, and all I had, saying in my heart, sickness or health, life or death, the will of the Lord be done. Oh! how good the Lord was to me, and I lay quiet, and slept sweetly.

But when the gaoler saw that I settled to abide there, and framed to house-keeping, he was angry, and went his way, and locked me up close, and I remained so some time; I did not so much as desire to look out at the door. And, oh! my heart was glad, that I was accounted worthy of these bonds; and though I could get nothing, except I had drawn it in at the window with a cord, yet it happened, that I wanted nothing all the time it was thus with me, for indeed I resolved to abide it patiently.

1681.  At length a Friend, one Robert Meek, came to see me, and the turnkey came to tell me, there was one come to see me, saying, I must come down into the house to him; by this I saw, that the gaoler

gaoler was willing to have me come to my Friends, that they might spend money in the house; whereupon I told the turnkey, that I was not willing to go down, If my Friends, said I, must not come to me, I am not willing to go to them. He went down, and in a short time brought up the Friend to me, leaving us together, and the door unlocked, and when the Friend had staid his time, I went down with him to see him take horse. Now when he was gone, I spoke to the gaoler, and asked him, Why he carried it so severely to me? I told him, If he was civil, he should have civility from me; and if he would not, he might do as he would. He said, That we were a people that would do nothing but what we listed; so when we had talked a while, he said, there hangs the key, take it, and do as you please.

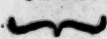
And ever after I went in and out as I had occasion into the gaoler's house and gardens, but home he would not let me go, though my wife was taken so ill, that it was feared she would have died. So I gave up wife and children, and all I had, into the Lord's hand, and was contented, saying in my heart after this manner: 'Life or death, poverty or riches, come what will come, the will of the Lord be done. But it pleased the Lord that my wife mended again; and,
oh!

1681.

1682:

Derby
prison.

1682.



oh! how easy I was after I had given up all, and my gaol was made a pleasant place to me, for the Lord in mercy was with me, so that I even sang a living song of praise; for to him praise is due for evermore!

Removed
to Lon-
don.

But Friends at London, in brotherly love, sent down an *Habeas Corpus* to have me up to appear in London, whither I went to please them; for Nichols had not hit the law right, but the court at London would not let me have law for my money at that time: and I was very uneasy till I came to the temple, and heard what tricks the priest's party and Nichols had done; then I threw it up, and resolved to wait the Lord's time to bring me out, as he had been pleased to appear to me. And the word of the Lord came to me, Be content, and I will bring thee out with honour; upon which, I came back to prison, and lay quietly till King James set me at liberty.

Returned
to prison.

Son John
died.

After this that gaoler went out, and another came in, who was very civil and kind to me, and also his wife. Then towards the spring my eldest son John died; now I obtained liberty to go to see him, but he died that night after he had seen me. Some of his last words were, that he hoped we should meet, where they (meaning bad men) should not part us any more. And the day after he was buried,

buried, I left my wife, and went to prison again. 1682.

Now the priests were pleased that I was in prison; and two of them meeting in mine inn at Tideswell, priest Wilson said Tideswell
to Fern (with whom I had the dispute at Priest
Baslow) Sir, I can tell you news: what Wilson.
news, said Fern? Why, said Wilson, Fern.
Gratton is in prison. I am glad of it,
said Fern. These are the hirelings that
shew their envious spirit, who spare not
the flock of Christ!

This year I wrote an epistle to the yearly meeting in London, which is follows.

Dear Friends and Brethren,

IN the pure unchangeable truth do 1683.
I dearly salute you all; who are
truly kept faithful in and by the power
of God to his glory; who hath in his
endless mercy called and chosen us to
bear testimony to his eternal power and
Godhead, who is God over all the gods
of the earth, which are but as grass,
which soon wither, and come unto an
end.

You, dear Friends, who dwell in the
power of God, the mountain of true ho-
liness, and in the unchangeable light,
that is the same at this day, which it
was

1683.
 Derby
 prison.

was at the first of its breaking forth in us, is my love at this time freshly unto: and you I feel near and dear unto me as ever; yea, you whom God hath made pillars in his house, honourable vessels in his hand, fitted for his service; my soul honours, yea, and highly esteems you in the Lord: knowing right well, that it is your meat and drink to do the will of your Father which is in heaven; and your hearts are gladly carried on in your Father's business; and you can truly say, they, and they only, are your brethren and sisters, who are knowers and doers of the will of your Father which is in heaven: for God, even our God and Father everlasting, hath raised us up by his own arm, and brought us forth in his own light, life, and power, not to do our own wills, but his; and, blessed be his name! his own delight to live under his government, and love his reign, and are not a little glad to feel the increase of his kingdom, in their own particulars, and to behold it in others: and for this, dear Friends, is a travail known in every upright heart, and a weighty concern upon the honest-minded in all the churches of the saints, that nothing may be suffered or permitted that hinders the increase of the kingdom and government of Christ Jesus our Lord; for this cause, with others I might mention, do

I know

I know it is a thing well-pleasing unto the Lord, that you meet together, who have chearfully a weighty care upon your spirits, for the prosperity of the eternal truth, which is truly precious unto you : that you may in the wisdom and love of God, through his eternal power, and in the spring of life, be truly carried forth as one man to stand up for the cause of God, and enabled to discharge your spirits of that weighty service which lies upon you. And, oh ! how largely hath the Lord our God made it manifest, that this your meeting is well-pleasing unto him, by giving you his presence in such a powerful and glorious manner, as is beyond my ability to declare, and hath sealed it in my heart, and I am sure in your hearts, that it is a right, good, and honourable thing ; and declares us to all the world, that though we be of several counties of this nation, yea, and of several nations, yet are we one body, in one spirit and mind ; and our unity, love and concord remains fresh in that life and light which never alters, and is the same at this day that ever it was : and therefore the enemy rages, and envies our prosperity in the blessed truth, and seeks every way to hinder the increase of the kingdom and government of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, to whom

S

be

1683.

Derby
prison.

1683.
Derby
prison.

be glory for ever ! The Lord rebuke him and chain him down, and tread him under all our feet. And I earnestly breathe unto the Lord our God, to give you a good soul-satisfying opportunity, according to his wonted manner, and I believe he will do it, and fill your cups full, yea, and make them overflow abundantly, to the joy and consolation of every sincere heart amongst you, and the Lord fill you with the spirit of judgment, that you may be as helps in government, judges for God, and set true judgment on the head of transgression and transgressors, wherever it is found, and so clear truth, which is clear from scandals, and scandalous professors of it, that God may be glorified, and all his enemies that will not that he should reign over them, be brought down, and slain before him, that he may be exalted over all, who alone is worthy, God blessed for ever ! Amen. Dear brethren, I have much upon my spirit, but lest I should be tedious, I feel freedom to forbear, but can truly say, I am with you in spirit ; and my love springs freshly to you, and I should have been glad to have been with you personally, but could not get leave ; so as a token of my dear love and true unity unto you, and with you it was in my heart thus to write unto you : and in this

I remain

I remain your dear friend and brother. 1683.
Everlasting praises be given to our God
for ever! Amen.' Derby
prison.

J. G.

Written in Derby gaol,
where I am a prisoner
for the truth's sake,
the 22d of the third
month, 1683.

But after some years the gaoler gave me leave to go home sometimes, and stay some weeks; but it displeased the priests and apparitors. And one time, I being at home, a Friend, who was to be married, came to me, and was earnest with me to come to his marriage, saying, He believed there would be a great service, for many people of the town of Chesterfield (where he had been an apprentice) would be at it. Wherefore I thought to go, but that night, after he was gone, as I sat in my own house, an exercise fell upon me, so I turned in my mind, and waited to know the cause, and the word of the Lord came unto me, saying, Thou must not go to this marriage, for the apparitor will be there; but thou must go to Derby to the gaol to-morrow. Hereat I went to bed very sorry, that I must go to Derby so soon, because I had leave to have staid at home some weeks longer. I told my wife of it, and questioned whether I should sleep, yet through

1683.
Derby
prison.

mercy I did ; but when I awaked the next morning, it remained with me till I went.

Oulder-
shaw.

When I came to Derby, the gaoler was at the Bowling-green ; I told him I was come to see them, at which he was glad, and bad me go down, and he would follow me ; and when I had been a little time at the gaol, there came two high priests, and one called a gentleman with him, to see me, and asked for me, so I came to them, but when they saw me, they had nothing to say to me, only the man who came with them, whose name was Ouldershaw, and knew me well, to cover the matter (for they called for me, as I suppose, as if they were sure that I was not there) he put himself to talk a little with me, and framed some discourse about religion, but he was soon silent, and was not able to withstand the truth ; but the priests said nothing, but paid their shot, and went away.

Now when they were gone, the gaoler rejoiced that it was so ordered, that I was there so ready to be seen by them, and said, He would not for forty pounds, but that I had been there that day, for one of the priests was the chief priest of Derby town, and the other one very high, and he was so pleased, that he let me go home again the same day.

Thus

Thus the wicked plotted against the just, for we perceived their design was to have advantage against the gaoler for giving me liberty, and so have got me to have been kept close prisoner, and then they hoped some relation of mine would have given them money for my release: besides, I suppose, they had some information that I was expected to be at the marriage aforesaid; and they laid the design so, that the apparitor went to the marriage, to have caught me there, expecting to have found me preaching, for he brought a justice with him to the meeting (called Gladman, one who knew Justice Gladman better than he practised) who asked for me; and the justice took hold of R. C. to pull him out of the meeting, but slipped his hold, and fell upon a form, and thence to the floor, and there lay till Friends helped him up: and those priests were to have evidenced that they came that day to the prison, and called for me, and that I was not there. But the good God disappointed them, and ordered me to be at the gaol, and not at the marriage: but the apparitor informed against the meeting, and Friends were fined, one Friend 20l. for preaching, which must have been my lot, had they found me preaching there, and the rest 5s. apiece for hearers. So they strained on G. H. for 20l. and Friends for 5s. but the Lord saw

1683. saw all their plots against me, and in mercy delivered me that day; neither did my gaoler suffer for his kindness to me. Oh! what a manifestation of the Lord's great love was this, for which I was not able to the full to return the praise and humble acknowledgments that is due to him, for his mercy and fatherly care, who knew the designs of our enemies, and prevented them.

Now, though we were ignorant, and knew nothing of this plot, yet the Lord in mercy revealed to me by his good spirit, that I should go to the prison. Oh! What a tender Father, and wonderful Counsellor have we; heaven and earth are full of his majesty, and his power is over all. Let the whole creation, and my soul, with all that is within me, praise the Lord, for his mercy endures from generation to generation; for he is God, and changeth not, the same to-day, yesterday, and for ever: therefore his people are not consumed, though the sea rage, and the beasts of the field have roared, yet the sheep and lambs of the flock of Christ Jesus are saved, and the lions and bears slain by him, who hath all power in heaven and earth, and will deliver all that truly trust in him; of whom David said, "Why do the heathen rage, and the people imagine a vain thing? The rulers take counsel together against

against the Lord, and against his anointed ;” whom the apostle remembered with joy, Acts iv. 18. to 34. Read it, and take courage you that love our Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity, and fear not man ; for if God be for us, who can be against us ? Neither men nor devils can hurt us ; though they may tempt and try us, yet if we follow the Lord, he will help us in time of need. Now my chief end in writing these remarkable things is, that others may take courage to trust in God, and be obedient to him in all things, without fearing man, who is but as grass.

1683.

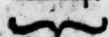
Derby
prison.

Now while I lay in prison, I sometimes spoke out of the window to the people, and many of them were loving and friendly to me, and some young men were convinced, amongst whom the gaoler's eldest son was one, who came finely forth in obedience to the Lord, for which his father was angry, and turned him out of doors ; he was likewise offended with me, and said, He would put me in the dungeon, and lock me to the wall : but he never did, for he would sometimes seem worse than he really was, for he loved me more than he made a shew of, and the liberty he gave me declared it.

1684.

Now one day I was concerned in mind for his son, for he got little trade in Derby, for the town was envious, and many of them seemed to turn from him, and

1684.



and would not trade with him, because he was turned to the truth, and his father was uneasy, for some would have had the high sheriff to put him out from being gaoler; but it came into my heart to make the gaoler a motion, that if he pleased to give me and his son leave, I would go with him to London, and place him there. So I went down and told his wife, and she told her husband, to which he consented; upon which I helped his son what I could off with his goods, then London. I took him with me to London, and G. Watts. placed him with an honest Friend, George Watts, where he did well, for the Lord gave him favour in the sight of Friends, and he grew in the truth; and after some time he found his mind engaged in affection toward a sober young woman, of an honest family, a Friend; upon which he came down to have the consent of his parents, to proceed in marriage: and now I must go up again, which I did, and liked the young woman well; so they married: and he went into partnership with a Friend in trade, and grew rich every way, and the Lord blessed him; and after some time his father went up to London, and saw how his son lived, and confessed, that I had done more for him than he could have done.

And one time, I having leave to go home for some time to see my wife and family,

family, it fell out so, that Robert Meller, ^{1684.}
 of White-hough in Staffordshire, died, ^{R. Meller}
 who had been an honest Friend in his day,
 and a noble standard in suffering times,
 his wife was also a sincere-hearted wo-
 man, and his son John a very honest
 Friend; they hearing of my being at
 home, sent and invited me to come to
 his burial, and though I was sorry for
 the loss of so faithful a Friend, yet was
 I desirous to go to his burial, thinking
 there would be many people, for he was
 beloved both by rich and poor, and of
 good report amongst men of all sorts;
 but I being a prisoner, was careful the Derby
 gaoler might not be blamed, or turned prison.
 out of his place on my account, for both
 he and his wife and children loved me
 well, and were very kind to me; upon
 which I waited upon the Lord, desiring
 to know his mind, whether I should go
 or no? Then I felt I might go; though
 I had a sense there would be danger of
 meeting with some trouble, but how or
 which way it would come I did not
 know.

When the day came I went, and many
 people were there, many of them people
 of note and figure in the world, and the
 high constable of our hundred, to whom
 Robert was uncle; so I was not easy in
 my spirit to stay at the house, but it was
 in my mind to go to the grave-yard, and

T

not

1684.
 Derby
 prison.
 Basford.

W. Fal-
 lowfield.
 J. H. and
 J. J.

not to stay till the corpse was carried from the house; upon which I left the people at dinner, and went away, and when I came at Basford town's-end, I overtook two men in black raiment, who opened the gate for me, but as I went on, it rose in my heart that they were informers; they went on also past the grave-yard, as though they had been going further, though I knew there was no road that way which they went; then I slipped off my horse, and went to a stile to watch them, and saw they went through a village into the Friend's ground who lived there, and lay down under a hedge till the corpse came near, then they arose and put themselves into the crowd; all which I saw, and was exercised what to do, whether I should go into the grave-yard or no? For if I should go, I knew not but my keeper might be turned out of his place, and there were three publick Friends besides, viz. W. F. J. H. and J. J. so I humbly waited on the Lord for counsel, if in mercy he would please to teach, and help me to do his will at that time; and as I waited and walked about, the people came with the corpse, and it pleased the Lord to encourage me to go to the grave, and all should be well; whereupon I went, where my mouth was opened to speak to the people, and the Lord's power was with

with me, and after I had done I went into the Friend's house, and sat down and kept my coat about me, but some strangers came in under pretence of lighting their tobacco, and asked the Friend's maid, who I was, saying, What a brave man they had heard! wishing they could do as he had said. I sat by, and they did not know me again, but asked my name, and where I dwelt; and she told them, by which they got their end.

1684.

Derby
prison.

Now the two men in black proved informers, the one of them was a priest, and the other a school-master, as I heard afterwards: for this they informed against me to the magistrates, and they fined me twenty pounds, and the three Friends who spoke at the grave twenty pounds each, and Thomas Hammersley, the Friend of the house, for the grave-yard twenty pounds, in all one hundred pounds, besides other Friends five shillings apiece for hearers; yet these informers got nothing of that hundred pounds of any of us five, for Friends went to the magistrates, and they moderated it; also the justices of our county refused to grant out their warrants to strain my goods, because I was a prisoner: but the deceased Friend was a rich man, and so were his relations both in that county and in Derbyshire; upon which they sent out a warrant to strain upon the widow's

T. Ham-
mersley.

1684. goods, from whom they took an old
 Derby mare, and few else lost much by these
 prison. informers, for the hearts of divers people
 rose against them; but I being in another
 county, a warrant was sent after me
 Justice to Sir William Boothly, to strain my
 Boothly. goods for twenty pounds, but he said, I
 was out of his hundred, and he would
 not meddle; by this he put them off,
 and all was well, though they employed
 Justice a sorry attorney of Staffordshire to go to
 Degg. Simon Degg, a justice of Derby, for a
 warrant to strain my goods for twenty
 pounds, but the justice told them, I was
 a prisoner; no, said the attorney, Sir,
 he is at liberty; no, said the justice, he
 is in prison: for now it happened, that
 there was a prisoner by at that time, and
 the justice asked him, and he bore wit-
 ness that I was in gaol (for I came in
 over night) for he both saw me, and was
 with me some time in the gaoler's house;
 upon which the justice said, What would
 you have? He is a prisoner; therefore
 I will not grant any warrant against him.

But it fell out, that the prisoner came
 home in the evening, and told me, before
 the gaoler and his wife, and many others,
 what a tug he had about me at justice
 Sutton. Degg's, saying, one Sutton an attorney
 craved a warrant against you for preach-
 ing at Robert Meller's burial; but the
 Porter. prisoner aforesaid, by name Porter, af-
 firmed

firmed that I was in prison, and so Sutton got no warrant to strain on my goods for the twenty pounds : but when my gaoler heard and perceived, that while I had been about home upon leave, I did venture to go to this burial, he cried out on me much, saying, Thou wilt undo thyself and me too : but I looked on him, and said boldly as it rose in my heart, Man, never fear, for thou wilt suffer nothing for any kindness thou shewest to me.

1684.

Derby
prison.

Now this was the affize-time at Derby, and there happened to be one Dale, a high constable aforesaid, who was Robert Meller's nephew, and was at the burial ; he told counsellor Leming, that he could find in his heart to complain to the judge of my gaoler, for letting me have liberty to go to meetings ; so counsellor Leming told it to a Friend of mine, an attorney in the town, who wished me well, and he told me what he had heard, and who told him ; said I to him, Pray ask the counsellor, if it was not Robert Dale ? for he was at the burial as well as me ; and said I, It is hard, if we may not have liberty to bury one another, or to this effect : but when he knew that I had marked him out (for it was his uncle that was buried, and I thought Dale had been a better man than to do after that manner, for he was there as well as I, and

Derby
Affizes.
Dale.Counsellor
Leming.

1684.
Derby
prison.

and carried it very civilly) he said no more, nor made any complaint to the judge; for if he had, it would have been a shame for him to complain against me for being at his uncle's burial: and my kind gaoler had no blame, but all was well, according to what was said in my heart when I went to the grave-side, that all should be well: and the devil was not suffered to do so much mischief as he would have done; and the Lord comforted my soul through all these exercises, glory, honour and praise be given to him, who never fails those who truly trust in him!

London.
King
Charles.

After some time I went to London again, and was there when King Charles died, and his brother came to the crown, who after some time set all that were in prison for conscience sake at liberty; of which hereafter.

1685.
Dispute
with a
Papist.

While I remained in prison, I had some discourse with the Papists, who were in prison with me, about several things. The first time the Popish priest began with me thus, and on this occasion: On a time, the gaoler being ill, I went down to see him (he and his wife being civil to me) and when the priest heard I was with the gaoler, he came also with about eight debtors, who were civil men, being well brought up, and they came to see the gaoler, and being pretty chearful with the

the old man, the Popish priest broke out; and said, Well may I be chearful, who suffer for the truth, when I see how chearfully some men do suffer for error. 1685.

Derby
prison.

Now there were none but he and another Papist, and I, who suffered for our profession of religion, so that I saw he struck at me, and told him, There were none at that time that suffered for their religion, but him and another of his own mind, besides me; therefore, said I, it must needs be me thou meanest, that suffers for error: either prove thy charge, or own thy fault, for I am not willing to sit down with it; telling him, that if he could make it appear that I suffered for an error, I would take him for my friend, for I was not willing either to live or die in error, if I knew it.

Then he would have heard no more of it, but I was not willing to pass it by, and let him go off so; the charge was great, prove it, said I, or confess thy error.

So he asked, What we must be tried by? It was answered, By the rule of the church. He acquiesced with that, so did I. Then I asked him, What that rule was? But he seemed to evade, and would not answer; but one that sat by said, It was the Scriptures. He said, No. Then I asked him again, What he said the rule was? To which he made no answer. Is it

1685.

Derby
prison.

it the Pope, said I? No, said he. Is it the church, said I? He answered, No. And so did I too; for the church was to ruled by the rule, therefore could not be the rule: but, said I, What dost thou say is the true church's rule? But he seemed loth to answer; but being urged, he said, that tradition was the rule. Tradition, said I! But what was the rule before there was tradition? For there must needs be the elders, before there was the tradition of the elders: and said I, the rule is a firm, stable, standing rule, from the beginning of the world to the end, that alters not, nor changes, which cannot be added to nor taken from. All this he seemed to have but little or nothing to say against.

But the company desired me to tell them, What I believed this rule was? And in answer to their request, I told them:

“It was the Holy Ghost, the Spirit of Truth, which was in the beginning, and was God, and is God, and changes not; and besides, since our Lord Jesus Christ suffered death for us, and rose again, this spirit is poured forth upon all flesh.” See Acts ii. “This is that which guided Enoch, so that he obtained testimony, that he pleased God: this hath been the guide, rule, and leader of all the patriarchs, prophets, and holy men of God,
who

who spoke as they were moved by the Holy Ghost, or Spirit of Truth, which leads and guides the true church into all truth, and all true worship is in it: and as many as are led and guided by the spirit of God, they are the sons and daughters of God:" and this was and is the true church's rule; and if any man have not the spirit of Christ, he is none of his; so this that is the guide of the church must be the rule; he that works by a rule is guided by it, and ruled by it: this is that which baptizeth men into the church or body of Christ: this is that the children of God are born of, and nourished by, so that it gives them life, and inspires them, and gives them understanding, manifesting to every man that which is for his profit and welfare, and is freely given, so the apostles were ministers and servants of it; this adopts men, and enables them to call God Father, and to say truly, that Jesus is the Lord: it directs men to obey, and enables them to do the will of God; this is grace, and a free gift to all, and if they will, they may come and drink abundantly of it, for it is a fountain of living water: and since men have turned from it, and run after blind guides, they oppose it and one another, and are confounded, having lost the rule, the true guide, they cry, Lo here! and Lo there!

U

and

1685.

Derby
prison.

1685.
Derby
prison.

and are out of love and charity one with another, and one is for one head and ruler, and another for another head; so every head would rule, and there being many heads and horns, even to admiration, they are pushing at one another, and in Babylon is found all the blood of the saints and martyrs of Jesus; but the true church is full of love and good-will to all mankind: with much more to that purpose. Upon this discourse the company believed, that the spirit of truth was the rule and guide; whereupon the Popish priest desired, that he and I might be at peace, and would have no more discourse.

The Pope
not Peter's,
but Simon
Magus's
successor.

After this, two men of the church of England, who wished me well, came to see me, and sent for me into the gaoler's hall; but before I came, another Papist, that had been tried for clipping, got into discourse with them, and vilified their church sadly, and was very high; then I asked a question, If, said I, it can be made appear, that the Pope of Rome is not in the apostle Peter's spirit, whether you will not then grant, that he cannot be Peter's successor? The Papist answered, Yes. Then I asked him, If Simon Magus was not out of Peter's spirit, who thought that the gift of God could be bought and sold for money? He replied, Yes. Then, said I, the Pope is in Simon Magus's

Magus's spirit, and not in Peter's, who thinks so still; but he said, Nay, the Pope did not think so. Then, said I, he is worse than Simon Magus, because he makes people believe so; else, Why doth he take money for his bulls, pardons, and indulgences? To this neither he, nor the Popish priest that stood by, said a word more, but went away; and the churchmen were glad.

1685.

Derby
prison.

After this, there came in a Jesuit and another priest, and two more Papists. One day the Jesuit shewed me a place in a book, where it was treating of a man being born of the spirit and of water, or water and the spirit; I asked him, What he shewed me that for? He answered, To let me see, that a man must be born of water, as well as of the spirit: I asked him, What water? He said, Baptismal water: What, said I, Elementary water? He said, Yes. Then, said I, Dost thou believe that elementary water hath that virtue in it, as to help to make a man a new creature? or to this effect; he said, Yes. Then I denied their baptism, and told him, He could not prove that ever our Saviour Christ baptized any with water, or commanded any man to baptize with water; and bid him either prove or yield: but he could not prove their baptism, and yield he was not willing.

1685.
 Derby
 prison.
 Of the
 sacra-
 ment.

ling. So I left him to search the Scriptures for a proof.

After this, he fell on me sharply about the eucharist or sacrament, as they call it, of bread and wine. He told me, that after the words of consecration (so called by the priest, though we read of no such words in Scripture) that the bread was really corporally and substantially the very flesh of Christ, and the wine his very blood, urging Christ's words, "Take, eat: this is my body."

I told him, Christ also said, "The flesh profiteth nothing, it is the spirit that quickeneth; the words that I speak unto you, they are spirit and they are life; and he that hath the Son, hath life; but he that hath not the Son, hath not life." But the apostle, speaking of the children of Israel (1 Cor. x.) "how they were baptized unto Moses in the cloud and in the sea; and that they did all eat the same spiritual meat, and did all drink the same spiritual drink; for they drank of that spiritual rock which followed them, and that rock was Christ." Now, said I, if it be the same, it is spiritual, and not, as thou sayest, corporeal; and if it be not the same, the apostle saith not true. This put him to silence, for he durst not say the apostle lied; and if so, then it was the same, and if the same, then not the very flesh of Christ corporally:

rally: so he was silent a while; at last 1685.
he said, Well, for my part, I know no-
thing of spiritual eating or drinking. Derby
Then, said I, it is no matter to talk prison.
more with thee.

Another time he began to discourse
with me again, asking me, If I did not
believe a purgatory, whither all go before Purga-
they can go to heaven? For he said, tory.
There was a place of purging after this
life, and that there were three sorts of
people went into purgatory; one sort
were so holy, that they went strait through
it into heaven, for their works did abide,
and they had reward of the same; ano-
ther sort, he said, was so unholy, that
they went strait through purgatory into
hell; and there was a third sort, that was
the most numerous, that was neither so
holy, as to go strait to heaven, nor so
very unholy, as to go strait to hell, and
those staid in purgatory fire, till they were
made clean, and suffered loss, because
their works did not abide when they were
tried by fire, yet they were saved, but so
as by fire; alluding to the apostle's words,
"that every man's work should be tried
by fire, of what sort it is, wood, hay, or
stubble," 1 Cor. iii. 12, 13, 14. Then
he queried, saying, Can any man's work
be tried before it be done? I said, No.
Then, said he, Can any man's work be
said to be done before he be dead? I
said,

1685.
 Derby
 prison.

said, No. Well then, said he, If a man's work cannot be tried before it be done, as it cannot, nor done before he be dead, then, said he, it must needs be tried after he is dead, and it must be tried by fire, therefore it must needs be purgatory fire. I asked him, What sort of fire it was, whether like that before us, which was a gaol fire, elementary fire? He said, Yes. I never heard before, said I, that a coal fire could try mens works, or that it would burn to all eternity; and thought that those, who pleaded for sin term of life, would be trapped in this argument.

Now the Lord was pleased to appear, for I felt him near me, and he opened my understanding, and I laboured to shew him from the Holy Scriptures, "That men were to know a being baptized into Christ's death, and to become dead to sin whilst here, and be buried with him by baptism into death, that like as Christ was raised from the dead by the glory of the Father, even so we also should walk in newness of life; for if we have been planted together, said the apostle, in the likeness of his death, we shall be also in the likeness of his resurrection, knowing this, that our old man is crucified with him, that the body of sin might be destroyed, that henceforth we should not serve sin, and he that is dead is freed from sin," Rom. vi. And the apostle
 faith,

saith, "How can you, that are dead to sin, live any longer therein? So the old man being crucified, death hath no more dominion over you; and that he that enters into Christ, the true rest, ceaseth from his own works, as God did from his; and Christ worketh in him, for he is all in all. And that the baptism of Christ is with the Holy Ghost and fire; and he will purge away the filth of the daughter of Sion, with the spirit of judgment and burning; and that the day of the Lord shall burn as an oven; and Jacob shall become a flame, and the house of Esau stubble; and the Lord shall sit as a refiner's fire, and like as a fuller with soap, and take away the filth of the daughter of Sion, and purely purge away her dross, and take away her tin." And the Lord said by his prophet, "I will make a man more precious than gold, than the golden wedge of Ophir, and that he would purify the sons of Levi; and the word of the Lord was as a fire and a hammer, to break the rocks asunder; and our God is a consuming fire to all the workers of iniquity, and reveals himself in flames of fire, to render vengeance upon all that know not God, and that obey not the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ; and the Lord makes all things new, and if any man be in Christ, he is a new creature, old things are done away,

1685.

Derby
prison.

1685.
 Derby
 prison.

Iſa. 38.
 18.

away, and become as dross and dung in comparison of Christ; so that man loseth all his own works, for they cannot abide the trial; but Christ is of God, made unto us wisdom, righteousness, sanctification, and redemption; and if any man glory, he must glory in the Lord, for out of him there is none: and this must be done or known in this life, in the day-time, for the day shall declare it, and the fire try every man's work, of what sort it is. Therefore said Christ, Work while it is day, for the night cometh wherein no man can work; there are twelve hours in the day, in which a man may work, but there is no work, nor device, nor knowledge, nor wisdom in the grave, whither thou goest; therefore whatsoever thy hand findeth to do, do it with thy might, for as the tree falls, so shall it be, and as death leaves, judgment finds, and in the grave there is no repentance; the grave cannot praise the Lord, death cannot celebrate him, they that go down into the pit cannot hope for his truth, but they that die in the Lord are blessed; and they that are in Christ need no purgatory after death, having washed their garments, and made them white in his own blood, and nothing else can cleanse people, or save them from their sins, for there is no other way to God but by him, neither is there any
 can

can save from death, and give life eternal, but Jesus Christ."

1685.

Derby
prison.

Much more was said than now I can remember, but he was ignorant, and not acquainted with these things, that he had not wherewith to oppose, nor did he deny what I had said; so his purgatory was all flung aside as an invention of men, and their pretending to pray men out of purgatory is all a cheat to get money by, and all their pardons nothing but deceit, for the Lord only hath power to forgive sin; and much opened in my mind, and all he could say came to nothing: so we parted friendly.

Oh! blessed be the Lord, who hath discovered the great whore, and all her abominations, and the false prophet, with all his transformings, are seen, and both thrown down into the earth together; and the whore is full of the blood of the saints and martyrs of Jesus, and she thirsts for more: but the Lord hath a remnant that are come out of her, and refuse to partake with her of her sins, lest they should partake with her of her plagues; for strong is the Lord God Almighty that judgeth her.

I also had good service with many other people, and sometimes got to some meetings at Little Eaton, and other Little places; but I did not write down what Eaton,

X

passed

1685.
 Derby
 prison.

passed in all places, only some things of note.

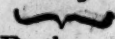
And I wrote to the priests of Derby, about the rude wicked practices which the people of that town lived in: for they made bonfires; and one year they carried about a thing they called the Pope, and then burnt it in the fire; and the next year they carried about a thing they called Presbyter John, and burnt that also: and these things, with many other I beheld in the town, which grieved me very much.

About this time the priests in their pulpits preached aloud, that active obedience must be practised by all the king's subjects: and one Henry Ward, having been one day with the mayor, came to me in the evening, and told me, that the mayor said, We must obey the king actively; so that if the king did command us to worship Mahomet, we ought to do it; and if it was amiss, it would be the king's fault, and not ours. The mayor's name was Goodman.

Good-
 man.

At this time the act for twenty pounds *per* month was put in execution against those who were rich, or such whom the prosecutors were minded to afflict; upon which one Burrows of Derby, to avoid suffering, conformed; besides, there was scarce a man in that town (according to the remarks I then made upon them) who

was

was willing to be reputed a Presbyterian; 1685.
for they had no meeting in or about that town, unless it were in private. 

Derby
prison.

‘ Such is the cowardice of men, whose religion is built upon the tradition and human inventions of men, and not upon Christ; for from hence it is plain, how needful it is for men to lay their building upon that rock, which neither the windy doctrines of men, nor the swelling waves of persecution, are able to remove them.

In this time of my confinement several people resorted to me in prison on the first-days, and we had good meetings there; for though the ministers of the gospel may be shut up in gaols for the testimony’s sake, yet the word of God cannot be bound, for then it had free recourse, and was glorified.

This prison was made easy to me, and things were well at home with my dear wife and family; and though she was a tender woman, yet she was enabled, (through mercy!) to keep markets, to carry on our business for a livelihood; she also came sometimes to see me in prison, though it was sixteen miles, which was hard for her in the winter season.

Whilst I was a prisoner, I wrote a little book, which I intituled, ‘ The Prisoner’s Vindication,’ as also some epistles and letters to Friends, besides which, I writ some Meditations in Verse for my children;

1685.
 Derby
 prison.

dren; and as to the reason why I write some remarkable passages of my sufferings for truth, and also the great things which the Lord hath wrought for me, both in supporting me therein, and delivering me out of; I say, these things are wrote, that my children and others may be encouraged to be faithful to the Lord, and valiant for the truth upon the earth; for that cause it came into my mind, to tell unto others how good the Lord hath been unto me, for which I am deeply engaged to praise his great name.

1686.

Wales.
 Eastwood
 Nottinghamshire.

Thus I was a prisoner for the gospel sake above five years and a half before I was set at liberty by King James the Second; as also many hundreds more were. I was discharged in open court the 23d of the first month 1686. Then I went home to my wife, but after I had staid a while, I was concerned to visit Friends, and travelled through most parts of this nation, except Cornwall, and I was also in some parts of Wales; I had also many meetings in and about Eastwood (Nottinghamshire), and many were convinced, and became obedient to the blessed truth.

But the priest of Eastwood being an old man, and hearing a great rumour about Friends, as also that many of his hearers left him; he had a son who was
 a priest

a priest also, who sometimes preached in his father's stead.

1686.

It was reported that the old man bad his son preach the same doctrine which I did; but when he went about what his father advised him, he was so confounded in his matter, that he could not go on. It happened one day, that I had a very large meeting at the house of one Luke Hanks, where I heard that this priest of Eastwood should say I stole a sheep from him, meaning some of those who had been his hearers. After this meeting, I went to a Friend's house, one Francis Taunton, who dwelt at Heynor; but that night the priest sent his clerk, desiring me to go to his house, whither I went, and several Friends along with me; when we came there, we were invited to sit down, which we did, and sat a while in silence, until the priest of Heynor (who had followed us thither) spake to the priest of Eastwood, saying, he perceived that I was sent for to him, that he might speak with me, upon which the young priest asked me, how I was called to be a preacher; but before I answered his question, he added, I grant that a man may be rightly called, though not of God; for, said he, the king's call is sufficient; at which a Friend, who was present, said, I suppose this king has called none of you; no, replied the priest, I be-

Luke Hanks.

F. Taunton.
Heynor.

1686. I believe he will call you before any of us. Then spake I, saying, I deny that any man can be rightly called, if he be not called of God, as was Aaron; and this I was willing to prove by scripture: but the priest of the house laboured to help his son out, but he run himself into the same snare, for they were not able to prove that any man was rightly called to preach, unless he was called of God. We talked further, till they were both silent and confounded; in this silence I had a concern came upon me, upon which I stood up and preached truth among them, and when I had done, the priests gave me their hands, and we parted friendly; when we were gone, the priest's wife was angry with them, saying, they sent for me like fools, and let me go like fools; but if ever I came again, she threatened, that she would either burn or scald me. After this, I heard that the priest of Heynor fell into great trouble of mind, and was confounded in his pulpit; but afterwards I met with the young priest of Eastwood upon the road, who spoke very kindly to me.

1688. Now I visited Friends in Lancashire, as at Manchester, Warrington, Sankey, Ormskirk, Copplemoore, and Penketh, where was a large, lively meeting; I lodged at Roger Haydock's, and at Copple at John Haydock's, and at Liverpool at Robert

Visits to
Friends
in Lanca-
shire,
Manches-
ter, &c.

Robert

Robert Haydock's, and at Lancaster at Robert Lawson's, and went to Swarthmoore, to Kendal, and divers other meetings in Westmoreland, and back to Lancaster again; from thence to Bentham, and so to John Moor's; thence to Samuel Watson's, and Kettlewell; thence to William Ellis's; thence to Skipton to John Hall's, and so into Craven, and to George Myers's house. Thence I went to several towns in the Dales, where I found divers of my countrymen gone into those parts: and I was at the Lady Lambert's; and then I travelled to Drawel to John Blakelin's at Sedberg, and went to a meeting at Scarfsdale, and there were twelve convinced that day: and so to Counterfet to Richard Robinson's, and down the country by Robert Lodge's, to York, Leeds, and Halifax, and to John Winn's at Bradford, and to Sikehouse meeting, and down by Owse to Pomfret, and so to and fro in several places more; for I did not then keep a journal of all places or passages, as I might have done. And I was twice at Hull, and Brigg, and at Winteringham, and Gainborough, the Isle of Axholm, at Epworth and Thorn, and back to Pomfret, Sheaf-field, Hansworth, Woodhouse, and Balborough-hall, Drainsfield, Whittingham, and at Chesterfield very often: and the Lord was with me in his great love and mercy,

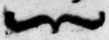
else

1688.

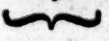
West-
moreland
Yorkshire
Bentham,
J. Moor,
S. Wat-
son,
Kettle-
well,
W. Ellis,
Skipton,
J. Hall,
Craven,
G. Myers
&c.

1689.

Brigg,
&c.
Balbo-
rough-h.
Drainf-
field,
Whit-
tingham,
Chester-
field.

1689.  else my travels had been tiresome and unpleasant, but the Lord helped me many a time; yea, the living know it, and met with him to their comfort, else meeting with me could have done little, for the work was the Lord's, and he wrought in us, and for us, of his own good pleasure: glory, honour, and praise, is wholly due to him.

Cheshire. After this I went into Cheshire, and to
Chester. Chester again, where I had formerly been exercised, and where there was now more openness than formerly: and there was

F. Ridge. a brave young woman, called Frances
1691.  Ridge, her father was dead, but her mother very kindly entertained Friends at her house, and her daughter was married

N. Owen. to a Friend, called Nathaniel Owen, of Ryegate in Surry.

I went to Chester several times after, and had good meetings there, through the Lord's goodness and mercy, who made them so with his precious presence, according to his blessed testimony, "that wheresoever two or three are met together in his name, there is he in the midst of them." This I have witnessed many a time; for if the Lord had not been with us, we could have done nothing without him: for he was mouth and wisdom to us, and gave us to understand scripture, and also the motion of his holy spirit inspiring us by it; for we spoke as
it

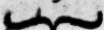
it moved us, and gave us utterance. 1691.
Renowned and exalted over all, be our
gracious God; for we came not with
words of our wisdom, or with words
which man's wisdom teacheth or taught
us, but with words which the Holy Ghost
gave us, comparing spiritual things with
spiritual.

And I went to most meetings in that Middle-
county of Cheshire; as Middlewich, Nant-
wich, Boscleigh, Macclesfield, Stockport, Nantwich
Boscleigh
Maccles-
Morley, Sheeford, Franly-height, and a
fine people there were, and much love, field,
Stockport
Morley,
&c.
unity, peace and concord were amongst
Friends. I went to some other meetings,
which I have forgot the names of.

After this I travelled in several counties 1692.
in England, both east, west, and south; Several
counties,
Cam-
bridge,
Hertford,
Essex,
Middlesex,
Surry,
Kent,
Suffex,
Hampsh.
Berks,
&c.
as Cambridgeshire, Hertfordshire, Essex,
Middlesex, Surry, Kent, Suffex, Hamp-
shire, Berkshire, Wiltshire, Dorsetshire,
Somersetshire, Bristol, and from thence
through other counties northward; as
Worcestershire and Staffordshire in my
return home, and found Friends in great
love and unity, and many were convinced,
truth prospered, and we were sweetly
refreshed and comforted together; for we
were an help and a strength one to ano-
ther, and the body edified itself in love,
blessed and praised be the name of our
God for ever!

Y

And

1692.  And I went much abroad to meetings, and run to and fro to the utmost of my ability, in most parts of the nation preaching the gospel freely, and travelled into
- Wales. Wales, and through great part of it; and
- Harding, had many good meetings there, at Hard-
Wrexham ing, Wrexham, and so to Richard Davis's
R. Davis, house near Welchpool, and at Charles
C. Loyd, Loyd's at Deloberan, and at Ponty Moyle,
&c. and the Pant in Monmouthshire, and
other places, whose names I do not re-
member now; and we were in great dan-
ger in passing over that great water at
Aust into Gloucestershire, but (through
mercy!) got safe to John Bolton's at
Ouldstone, and visited most meetings in
that county. I was at French Hay, and
from thence to Bristol, and was at many
good meetings in Somersetshire; as at
Chew, Wrington, and Somerton, and in
Devon- Devonshire, as far as Exeter, where was
shire. a fine meeting, and a house newly built,
Exeter. and travelled through several counties to
London. London. The Lord in great mercy fa-
voured me with his power and presence,
to my great comfort and joy: and after
the yearly meeting at London, I went
into Hertfordshire and Essex; was at
Essex, &c. Colchester, Woodbridge, Ipswich, Bury,
Several counties. and so to and fro in Suffolk, Norfolk, as
Suffolk, far as Yarmouth, and back to Norwich,
Norfolk. and up and down in that county to Down-
Isle of ham and Lynn, and into the Isle of Ely,
Ely, &c. Cam-

Cambridgeshire, Huntingdonshire, Northamptonshire, Leicestershire, and Rutlandshire, into Lincolnshire, to Boston and Lincoln city, and through most of that great county: so into Nottinghamshire, and then into Derbyshire home. Having travelled in great love: and many in this journey were turned to the Lord from the evil of their ways, as at many other times and places where I travelled; and though I often came home much spent, weak, and weary, yet had my reward with me (my sheaves in my bosom) and usually was soon better when I had rested a while.

1692.

Now I had it upon me to go and visit Friends in Scotland, and accordingly I went by Halifax, Leeds, and York, where I met Thomas Aldam, who accompanied me in this journey; we went to North-Allerton, Yarm, Stockton, Bishops-Aukland, and Durham; thence to Newcastle upon Tyne, where we had great meetings; was at Sunderland, and many places in Northumberland, which I cannot name; we came to Berwick, where the rude people disturbed the meeting, breaking the windows; but a lady, who dwelt in Northumberland, being there, went to the magistrates of the town, upon which the rabble was rebuked. Next day we went to Kelfo, and had a quiet meeting: and there was James Hollyday, who went

1694.

Through
Yorkshire
York, &c.

Durham.

Berwick.

Kelfo.
J. Holly-
day.

1694.
 Enters
 Scotland,
 Edin-
 burgh,
 &c.
 R. Bar-
 clay.

with us to Edinburgh, where we were at their yearly meeting for that nation, and it was a comfortable opportunity; the next meeting we had was at Montrose; we had also another meeting before we came to Ury, where the widow of Robert Barclay dwelt; there we staid several days, in which time I observed, that when her children were up in the morning, and dressed, she sat down with them before breakfast, and in a religious manner waited upon the Lord, which pious care, and motherly instruction of her children, when young, doubtless had its desired effect upon them; for as they grew in years, they also grew in the knowledge of the blessed truth, and since that time some of them are become publick preachers thereof.

Aberdeen From thence we went to Aberdeen, and found a fine meeting of Friends, and Awhortes staid there some time; thence to Awhortes to John Forbes's, and to Cashore J. Forbes, (I think it is called); thence to Kings- Cashore. well; from thence we came back to Aber- Kingf- deen, Ury, and Montrose, Dundee, Leith, well. and Edinburgh, at which place they stoned Aberdeen us, when we were quiet in the meeting. Ury, &c. Thence to Lithgow, and so to Charles Edin- Hamilton's, the duke's servant; from burgh, thence we came to Durand, and a town &c.. where there was a meeting-house, in which we had a meeting. Thence to Glasgow, where

where the people were wicked, and thence to Hamilton, where we had a good meeting; so to Argyle and Douglass, to John Canady's: thence to the duke of Queensborough, Gardener's, one James Wood's house, and had a meeting there; after which he came with us by Dumfries into England: and the Lord in mercy helped me mightily with his heavenly power, and gave us many precious meetings up and down in that nation, though I felt the Scotch people in a bitter, envious spirit in several places, and we were in perils twice; both at Edinburgh and Glasgow, where they stoned us, but nowhere else; at Edinburgh a stone hit me as I was declaring in the meeting, but did not hurt me.

After our return out of Scotland, we had many good meetings in Cumberland; as at the Border, near Christopher Story's, and next day at John Boustead's at Eglington, Carlisle, Wigton, Holme, Cockermouth, Broughton, Pardsey-Crag, besides many other meetings in that county, which were comfortable seasons to us; for the Comforter was with us, and mightily helped us from meeting to meeting. From thence we travelled to Kendal, the Height, and thence to Swarthmoor, where we had a fine meeting; we were also at Lancaster, from which place we returned back again to Kendal, and passed from thence

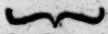
1694.

England.

Cumberland.
C. Story,
J. Boustead.
Carlisle,
&c.

West-
moreland

Lancaster
Kendal.

1694.  thence to Thomas Camm's, and thence into Yorkshire to John Blakling's, near Sedberg, and by William Ellis's to Skipton, from whence we went to George Myers's, and down to Leeds, and so along to Warnsworth, where I left my companion T. Aldham, who accompanied me in this journey. From this place I returned home, and there found my wife and family well, to my great comfort, praised be the Lord for ever!

T. Camm
Yorkshire
J. Blak-
lings.
Sedberg.
W. Ellis.
Skipton.
G. Myers.
Leeds,
&c.

And Friends in Scotland and elsewhere were very loving to us, and fine living meetings there were in that nation: I felt them in the life near to my spirit, in which the living know one another beyond words, and I hope and believe the Lord will have a great people there in time to come, though the enemy be angry, and would hinder the spreading of the holy truth, by the enemies thereof; yet his weapons are but carnal, silly, and weak: I desire many Friends may think of that nation, and in the will of God give up to visit it; for there is a zealous professing people, that were they but brought to the knowledge of truth, I believe there are many, yea, very many, who would be zealous for it.

R. Barclay.
P. Levingstone.

And I found that those two worthy men, Robert Barclay and Patrick Levingstone, had left a sweet savour behind them, and the removing of them, especially

cially the former was a great loss to that nation, and cause of great mourning to Friends there, and also to others elsewhere: but blessed be God, he, viz. R. B. hath left a hopeful family behind him, praises be given to the Lord for ever!

1694.

In this year I had a concern to visit Friends with the following lines.

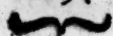
An Epistle to Friends in Scotland.

Written at Monyash, the 22d of the 11th Month, 1694.

Truly Beloved Friends and Brethren,
A. J. T. M. J. H. K. G.

‘ **W**ITH pure love unfeigned, which springs from the endearing fountain thereof, do I tenderly salute you, and all true Friends with you, feeling you always near and dear to me at all times, when I remember you, and am glad, that the God and fountain of all our mercies hath reached forth so plentifully to your immortal souls, and made you so largely to partake with us of his free grace and gift of eternal life, so that your portions and measures hereof are very large, to the mutual joy of you, me, and many more, for which we are deeply obliged to

1694.



to be truly thankful unto our God, from whom every good and perfect gift comes, and unto him alone it is we ought still to look, that as men in need of continual supply, we may experience his bountiful hand to minister freely unto every one of us; for it is he alone that both makes and keeps us, and all his, truly living, faithful, fruitful and serviceable in this blessed day of his mighty power, wherein as we abide we have fellowship both with him, and one with another; so that this is the travail and earnest desire of my soul to the Lord, that we may all be preserved to the end in true self-denial, humbly, meekly, and innocently walking in this glorious day of gospel-light, life, and power, so as we may help one another's joy: and the blessed unity of his holy spirit being lived in, no man can take our joy from us, which is only possessed by us as we abide in him, who is life eternal, to whom be praise given by us, and all that partake with us, for ever. Amen.

Many are the exercises, temptations, sufferings, and tribulations which frequently attend and beset us here, both within and without. Oh! well may we say, Our God is God, and changeth not, else ere this we might have been destroyed, for we are poor, weak, insufficient of ourselves, unable to think a good thought,

thought, the enemy knows this, and labours to deceive with his subtil wiles; for if we keep not in him who is our wisdom, righteousness, sanctification, and redemption, we have no wisdom of our own righteousness, or power to save ourselves at all. Oh, the goodness of God to us is undeclarable! And we see as much need as ever to keep looking unto him for help every moment, for all our time is a time of need, and if the Lord was not with us, we could not bear up against the enemy's floods, tempests, and raging violence and storms, that attend us in this perilous pilgrimage; but glory, honour, praises, and high returns of humble and sincere-hearted thanks, be given to our great and merciful God! He is with us, and is the same he was in ancient days, when he carried Israel through the Red Sea on dry ground, and gave them to behold his miraculous deliverance, and saved them out of the hands of their many enemies, who sought to destroy them. Oh, the sense of his love, and the experience which I have of his goodness, tenders my poor heart, and bows my spirit before him! And I hope you partake with me, and will also feel with me beyond words or writings.

And, dear Friends, I desire we may all be mindful of him, who is our rock and refuge, keeping near him always, not

1694. forgetting the Lord; here is divine light, for he dwells in it, and in him is no darkness at all; here we see our states as they are, and that what we are, we are by his grace; and here it is we meet with fresh pastures of life, and feed together, where the enemy cannot come, nor the lofty, unclean Edomite approach. Oh, my heart is glad to feel love run so freely towards you at this time! I do not write these things as though I looked upon you not to know them; no, if I did, I could not be so free and open to you, but a little to remind you, and in these few lines to confer with you in love: for it is fruits of dear, unfeigned love I here salute you with as men, that I can say are of my flesh, and bones, and members with me, of that sweet, harmonious body, of which Christ Jesus is head, Lord and King, worthy is he to reign, it is his right; and he that would be great among you, must be least of all, and this is the Lord's doing, and it is marvellous in our eyes. Oh! that this low estate we may see experimentally, for in that place many have met with him, and been met withal by him, who despiseth not the low estates of his servants and handmaids. Surely it behoves us to be low, for our teacher is meek and lowly in heart.

Well, my dear and truly beloved, I see the meek are most filled with love, even that

that love which is not puffed up, seeks not its own in that sense the apostle means, but leads us to seek the good of all, and the things that are Jesus Christ's. 1694.

Dear Friends, I pray that we may always dwell in this love, and then we shall be sure to love one another: I was glad in heart, when I felt your love to me in the Lord, when present with you, and to my companion also, and also when I felt your love kept fresh to us after our departure from you in person, not in spirit, and that you remembered me in your prayers, I desire you would still remember me, and I hope I shall not forget you.

And, dear Friends, I desire you as a brother, keep up the good order of the blessed truth amongst you, and let not your monthly and quarterly meetings be neglected, and take care of the whole church of God in your nation, and delay not to help one another: for God Almighty hath set up his standard, and his controversy is proclaimed against all unrighteousness. I know there wanted some help in some places, when I was with you; the Lord hath gifted some to be helps, and to rule well in the church: and we know the apostles in their travels left the brethren decrees to keep, and took care of the churches as they travelled, and went to see how they did;

1694.

I hope you will take it well that I make thus bold with you, and will feel my tender love unto you.

I was glad when I saw a copy of your letter to G. K. yet sorry to see the answer to you from him, or his wife, or both; he must, it seems, be made manifest. I desire you may grow in the heavenly root, and multiply to the glory of him that hath grafted you into it.

My dear Friends, in every respect be truly obedient unto the Lord, and he by his own power strengthen, establish, and root you deeply in his blessed truth. To him I tenderly commit you all: he is God Almighty, even now, as in Abraham's days; to him be praise, worship, honour, glory, and renown for evermore. Amen.

Read this, as you see a service to all, and send honest Barty Gibson a copy of it, and let him know my dear love is to him and his wife, Francis Soneman, and Friends in Edinburgh. Let copies of it be sent to all in Scotland. I thank God I am pretty healthy, but not strong in body: so with my true love to you all,

I am your sincere friend in pure love,

J. G.

After

After this I staid about home some time, where I had many meetings, and there was a fine increafe; for the number of Friends multiplied: but many of them went into America, there was about forty from our monthly meeting, and some others, which lessened our meeting pretty much. 1695.

And after some time it came upon me to go and visit Friends in Ireland; there had divers of them been in England sundry times, and a love lived in me to them, wherefore I gave up to go, and went to West-Chester in order to it, but found there was an embargo laid upon ships that they must not go out, so that when we could not go for Ireland, we went to Shrewsbury, and so down into Herefordshire, R. Needham being with me, and to the yearly meeting in Wales, at Pontypool in Monmouthshire, a fine meeting it was, and after at the Pant, and so over the passage into Gloucestershire, and to Bristol, and into Somersetshire to Richard Vickris's at Chew, John Whiting's at Winton, and William Laurence's at Axbridge, and back to Bristol to the yearly meeting there, and from thence to the yearly meeting at London, and after that returned home with my wife, and staid at home about seven days, and then set forward again for Ireland with Godfrey Newball, a Friend of York-shire, &c.

1696. shire, and went to Whitehaven in Cum-
 berland for George Rook's company, and
 so to sea; the winds were somewhat con-
 trary, and we were in some danger of
 our lives, but we put into the Isle of Man,
 and at last arrived safe at Dublin in the
 fifth month.

An Account of the Places and Meet-
 ings I was at, and Friends where
 I lodged.

5th Month.	Week	Places	Counties	Friends
23 24 25	5	Dublin city	and county	
26 27 28	6			Abel Strettle's
29 30	4 & 5	Tredarsh town		an inn
31	6	Dundalk	Louth county	an inn
6th Month.	1	7 Newry	county of Down	an inn
	2	1 Lurgan ditto	Armagh	R. Hoope's
	3	2 Tantacarubet ditto		J. Robson's
	4	3 Manullen ditto		A. Christy's
	5	4 Lurgan again ditto		R. Hoope's
	6	5 Ballenderry	county of Antrim	
				R. Boy's
	7	6 Rillsborough	county of Down	
				R. Mercer's
	8	7 Antrim	county of Antrim	
				J. Fletcher's
	9	1 Lisnegarvey ditto		Eliz. Steer's
				2 Belfast

OF JOHN GRATTON.

183

Week	Places	Counties	Friends	1696.
				6th Month.
10	2 Belfast	county of Antrim	John Tay's	
11	3 Carrickfergus	ditto	T. Calvert's	
12	4 Antrim town	ditto	W. Wilkinson's	
13	5 Grange	ditto	J. Greenwood's	
14	6 Ballinacree	ditto	J. Moor's	
15	7			
16	1 Colerain	county of Derry	A. Melvin's	
17	2 Dunclady	ditto	W. Henderson's	
18	3 Mawarongl.	ditto	James Starrat's	
	Toberhead	ditto	Tho. Gregg's	
19	4 Dawson Bridge	ditto	F. Scerfon's	
20	5 Bellyloman	Antrim	J. Hamersly's	
21	6 Bellelye	ditto	Is. Wilkinson's	
22	7 Bellandry	ditto	T. Erwin's	
23	1 Lurgan	county of Armagh	R. Hoope's	
24	2			
25	3 Tallybridge	ditto	W. Nicholson's	
26	4 Grange near Charl.	ditto	John Whiteside's	
		Tyrone town and county	W. Williamfon's	
27	5 Ulster province meeting,	in the		
28	6	county of Armagh	W. Gray's	
29	7			
30	1			
31	2 Bellyhagan	ditto	Mat. Dale's	
		Thorough part of Monaghams	ditto	
			3 Coathill	

1696.	Week	Places	Counties	Friends
7th Month.	1	3 Coathill	Caven county	R. Davenport's
	2	4 Drumcain	ditto	John Bell's
	3	5 Oldcastle	county of Meath	Mer. King's
	4	6 Carpenter's town	ditto	Tho. Paskwin's
	5	7 Mole Grange	West Meath	
	6	1		J. Cliburne's
	7	2 Barr	King's county	T. Winslow's
	8	3 Banahara in Galloway,	province of Connaught, Burrissakane, coun. of Tipperary, prov. of Leinster	
	9	4 Killalo	county of Clare	J. Gibbel's
	10	5 Limerick city and county		T. Pearce's
	11	6 Charleville	county of Cork	J. Axham's
	12	7 Cork city and county		J. Pike's
	13	1		
	14	2		
		&c.		
	17	5 Bandon	ditto back to Cork	ditto
	18	6		
	19	7 Yonghall		W. Fennel's
	20	1		
	21	2 Kilcommon	county of Tipperary	J. Fennel's
	22	3 Cashel	ditto	G. Baker's
				4 Chonmell

OF JOHN GRATTON.

185

Week	Places	Counties	Friends	1696.
23	4	Chonmell county of Tipperary	G. Collet's	7th Month.
24	5	Waterford city and county	Sam. Dennis's	
25	6	Rosse through Kilkenny	J. Eleg's	
26	7	Lamb's town county of Wexford,		
27	1	Leinster province meeting at	Tho. Cubbing's	
28	2	Wexford city and county	H. Hillary's	
29	3	Ballancarick ditto	W. Sandwith's	
30	4	Askashalla ditto	H. Varman's	
1	5	Tomygade	Basil Borington's	8th
2	6	Ballancary	Aaron Smith's	Month.
3	7	Ragheen	Joshua Butler's	
4	1	Ballanburney Wexford county	Edw. Godwin's	
		Ennescorty	Jacob Lorrays	
5	2	Sheadale county of Wicklow	John Frid's	
6	3	Gorey county of Wexford	Nich. Lock's	
7	4	Mackgnoyl	John Stephen's	
8	5	Bellycane county of Wicklow	J. Pimrose's	
9	6	Bellanacorick	Suf. Wilkinson's	
10	7	Wicklow town and county	Tho. Stratford	
11	1	Dublin city and county that week	A. Strett	
12	2			
	&c.			
		A a	2 Phillip's	

1696.	Week	Places	Counties	Friends
8th Month.	19	2 Phillip's town	county of Carl.	T. Dugget's
	20	3 Kilconner	ditto	J. Watson's
	21	4 Newgarden	ditto	Ephr. Heritage's
	22	5 Bellanakill	Queen's coun.	G. Pitt's
	23	6 Knockbellyhor	Niceroy	J. Hutchenfon's
		&c.		
	26	2 Ruglin Monrock	Queen's county	J. Pimm's
	27	3		
	28	4 Leehenshaw	King's county	Abr. Fuller's
	29	5 Lismine	ditto	Isaac Fuller's
	30	6 Rosen Alleyes	Queen's county	W. Edmundson
	31	7 Mounmellick		Josh. Bayle's
9th Month.	1	1 Thomas Wilson's	ditto	
	2	2		G. Bewley's
	3	3 Edenderry	ditto	Jane Barecraft's
	4	4 Moon	county of Kildare	Walter Mafon's
	5	5 Castle Dermont		Alex. Sparraw's
	7	7 Dublin	half year's meeting	
	8	1		Abel Strettle's
		&c.		

And we had many precious meetings in that nation, especially their province-meetings, and Friends were generally in sweet love, unity, peace, concord: and good order and government there is amongst

amongst them, and great love and care of one another's families, the poor and youth in all respects: and when we had been at all the meetings of Friends that we knew of in the nation, or seen some Friends of all the meetings, and were clear to come away, we left them in true love, being well satisfied in visiting them; and took shipping at Dublin, and came to Holyhead, and through Wales to West-Chester, and so home.

1696.

Dublin.
Holyhead
Wales.
West-
Chester.

Many Friends in Ireland had a great care upon them in the oversight of the flock, watching over them, that Friends be careful in all respects to keep their profession without blame, and that none run inordinately after the world, or break in other men's debts, to prevent which they are advised to labour lawfully for the maintenance of their families, providing things honest in the sight of men; by thus watching over one another, doubtless some things are prevented, which otherwise might prove a disreputation to our holy profession.

After his return from Ireland, he kept no exact account of the residue of his travels, though he visited Friends in divers counties, labouring in the work of the gospel, as he found drawings thereto, though in his latter days he was afflicted with the stone or gravel, which

1697.

1698.

1699. much abated his natural strength; nevertheless he came several times to London, and particularly in the winter 1699.

1700. He also came to the yearly-meeting in 1700; and in his return home had many good meetings in the way, being accompanied by John Cade to Blith, where his wife met him.

J. Cade. The next year he travelled as far as Bristol, and was at their yearly-meeting: from thence he went to Bath, and travelled up to London to the yearly-meeting, which fell in the fourth month 1701. It was a large and precious meeting: after which he returned home.

London. He also came up to the next yearly-meeting in London 1702. At this time he brought up his treatise relating to tythes, which was an answer to one W.W.'s fourth letter, which was intituled, "The Clergy's Legal Right to Tythes," &c. which book of John Gratton's was published the next year; to which the reader is referred.

1703. In the year 1703 he came again to the yearly-meeting, visiting Friends in many places as he came.

1704. The twenty-sixth of the second month 1704, he set out again for London, visiting Friends in many places as he came, as in Nottinghamshire, Hunting-tonshire, the Isle of Ely, and a great part of Norfolk, and had several meetings in Suffolk,

Suffolk, the last of which was at Ipswich, 1704.
 from which place he came to Colchester, Suffolk.
 and was at their meeting on first-day; Ipswich.
 after which he visited several meetings in Colches-
 Essex, and then came to London to the ter.
 yearly-meeting; having travelled in this Essex.
 journey three hundred thirty-four miles, London.
 according to his own account.

After his return home at this time, we find no account of his travelling for two or three years: now greater weakness growing upon him, it is probable he continued about home, visiting Friends as he was able.

In 1707 he disposed of his estate at Monyash, and dwelt with his son Joseph 1707.
 some time. Then he went to visit some Friends in several adjacent places, his wife accompanying him, though both of them were aged and weakly: but after they returned home, his wife growing weaker and weaker, she departed this His wife
 life the fourth of the tenth month 1707, dies.
 dying in peace with the Lord, leaving a good report behind her, among those who knew her: the account of her death he gave himself, saying, 'A very comfortable wife she had been to him near thirty-eight years:' adding, that she had never hindered him from going abroad to visit Friends.

In the year 1708 he took a journey to 1708.
 London again, and went into some parts of London.

1708. of Essex, Surry and Kent; after which
 he returned to London again, where
 staying some time, he was taken ill, and
 weakness increasing upon him, he re-
 moved out of the city for the benefit of
 the air to Richard Richardson's near Ux-
 bridge, where he was carefully attended
 for three weeks, in which time several
 Friends of London went to visit him;
 from which place Daniel Wharley took
 him to his house; from thence he went
 to Ailesbury, and by small journies he
 got home, Richard Needham accompa-
 nying him: where he continued living
 with his daughter above three years, con-
 tinuing weakly until his decease, which was
 the 9th of the 1st month 1711, aged about
 seventy years; dying, no doubt, in peace
 with the Lord, and unity with all the
 faithful, and is entered into his everlast-
 ing rest among the FAITHFUL FOL-
 LOWERS of JESUS.

THE END.

B O O K S

LATELY PRINTED BY

JAMES PHILLIPS,

GEORGE-YARD, LOMBARD-STREET.

LONDON.

THE Works of JOHN WOOLMAN,
containing a Journal of his Life,
Gospel-Labours, and Christian Experi-
ences; with Considerations on Pure Wis-
dom and Human Policy—On Labour—
On Schools; and on the right Use of the
Lord's outward Gifts; together with his
last Epistle, in Two Parts, *Calf*, 3s. 6d.

The same Work, large 12mo. *Sheep
rolled*, 2s. 6d.

Some Account of the Life and Gospel-
Labours of WILLIAM RECKITT, *Sheep
rolled*, 2s.

Select Pieces, by ISAAC PENNINGTON,
Stitched 1s.

Also New and Neat Editions of the
following Books.

Fruits of Solitude, in Reflections and
Maxims relating to the Conduct of Hu-
man Life, in Two Parts, by WILLIAM
PENN, *Sheep rolled*, 2s.

Fruits

BOOKS Printed by, &c.

Fruits of a Father's Love, being the Advice of WILLIAM PENN to his Children, relating to their Civil and Religious Conduct, *Stitched*, 6d.

The two foregoing Articles neatly bound in One Volume, 3s.

A Brief Account of the Rise and Progress of the People called Quakers, in which their fundamental Principle, Doctrines, Worship, Ministry, and Discipline, are plainly declared, with a summary Relation of the former Dispensations of God in the World, by way of Introduction, by WILLIAM PENN, 1s.

The Grounds of a Holy Life, or the Way by which many, who were Heathens, came to be renowned Christians; and such, who are now Sinners, may come to be numbered with Saints by little Preaching, by HUGH TURFORD, *Bound*, 10d.

A Journal of Labours and Travels in the Work of the Ministry of that faithful Servant of Christ, DEBORAH BELL, *Stitched*, 1s.

The Doctrine of Baptisms reduced from its ancient and modern Corruptions, and restored to its primitive Soundness and Integrity; according to the Word of Truth, the Substance of Faith, and the Nature of Christ's Kingdom, by WILLIAM DELL, Minister of the Gospel, and formerly Master of Gonville and Caius College in Cambridge, 6d.

